

THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE BIRDCATCHER.

"Madam, myself have lim'd a bush for her;
And placed a quire of such enticing birds,
That she will light to listen to the lays,
And never mount to trouble you again.
So, let her rest."

WHEN we were in the full chubbiness of childhood, and apt, from exuberance of animal spirits, to trouble the household, we were sent out into the garden to catch birds by putting salt upon their tails. There was a dash of adventure in this amusement which took our fancy. Forth we sallied with a good will and earnestness which gave sure promise of our remaining a considerable time. O! the attractions and the fruitlessness of that juvenile sport! How exciting, and yet how barren of substantial results! In vain did we sit at the foot of the pear-tree, and, looking up to the bolder sort of sparrows which perched on its branches, endeavour to wheedle them into coming down by cries of "Dick! Dick!" In vain, when, perchance, they lighted at some distance, did we fetch a compass behind the pease, and creep cautiously over the cabbage bed, and then bolt out with all the energy of a cat pouncing upon vermin. The birds would never wait to feel the salt upon their tails. Off they were in a twinkling to a neighbouring elm, to fidget about, in our disappointed presence, from twig to twig, to chirp in loud derision, and, seemingly, to ask, in their own peculiar dialect, "Don't you wish you may catch us?"

And thus have ecclesiastical authorities recently attempted to get hold of dissenters. Their Factories bill was a vain scramble to put salt upon the tail of chirping nonconformity. Sir James Graham resorted to all the little stratagems which were so familiar to us in our green boyhood—and the drily press of both political factions whistled cant, as naturally as possible, to bring us within arm's length of church ambition. Dissenters, they supposed, and in this supposition they were not far wrong, would be sure to be caught, if the legislature could but once put salt upon their tails. Unfortunately for them, the dissenters seemed to have been of the same opinion, and salt they would not have at any price. All Sir James Graham's Christian charity was warbled out in vain. Bootless was his attempt to approach them holding "an olive branch" before his face. Lost, utterly lost, were all the efforts of the *Times* to make nonconformists quietly wait until the paw of state ecclesiastics was upon them. The plan failed. The *Times* has discovered that it was "a mistake"—and hence, its resort to a more skilful and far more feasible plan of birdcatching. Of late, it has reversed its policy with regard to dissenters—and its present design may be fairly enough expressed in the language of Comus:—

"I, under fair pretence of friendly ends,
And well-placed words of glozing courtesy
Baited with reasons not unpleasing,
Wind me into the easy-hearted man,
And hug him into snares."

In "the leading European journal" of Friday last we find one of those articles which are now appearing at measured intervals upon dissenting affairs, which may be taken to indicate the new system of tactics by which the supliced Jesuits of the English establishment intend to work out their darling purpose. Commencing with a moderate chuckle over nonconforming listlessness, and congratulating its readers upon the fact, "that there is at the present moment a most decided lull of dissenting agitation;" that "the Factory bill having been abandoned, and the May meetings being over, there is scarcely an appearance of vitality amongst them;" and that, "with the exception of a church-rate bustle in some three or four parishes, just sufficient to prove that the anti-church-rate party is not absolutely defunct, though scarcely enough to save it from being pronounced moribund, what little activity there is cannot be deemed of a purely dissenting character;" it proceeds to account for "the stagnation" in terms "of glozing courtesy," by which a considerable section of nonconformists may be tickled into good temper. It has cleverly set apart for its first attempts "the easy-hearted men" of the dissenting world, whom it would cajole and "hug into snares" by flatteries like the following:—

"Dissent is now to a great extent a negative rather than a positive quality. It is rather nonconformity than

dissent. We are of course alluding to the more respectable and influential bodies—not to socialists, Owenites, Mormonites, and the other sects which spring from the fermentation of sedition, infidelity, and fanaticism, but to those who consider themselves insulted by being (however justly) classed with them under the common general denomination. We refer to the species 'orthodox dissenters,' which includes the large proportion of whatever learning, refinement, wealth, and moral worth, is to be found in the genus."

The art displayed in this segregation of the precious from the vile can only be fully appreciated by attending to the subsequent bearing of the article. After having thus stroked down the ruffled plumes of "orthodox dissenters," put them into an upper class, pleased them by an adroit admission of their respectability, and gratified, at small expense, their aristocratic tendencies and tastes, it goes on, with mingled truthfulness and irony, to show them that there exists no solid reason to prevent them from conforming. The barrier which divides them from the establishment is nothing but "habit," and a few "matters of form."

"They are noneconformists because they have been born and bred among nonconformists, have been taught nonconformity from their cradles, have associated from infancy almost exclusively with nonconformists, and have had all their predilections and prejudices formed and enlisted gradually, and often quite imperceptibly, in favour of nonconformity. The mass of them are, to an astonishing extent, ignorant of the real points of difference between themselves and the church. They have a vague notion, imbibed they can scarcely tell when, and to be justified they know not how, that 'the gospel is not preached in the church,' and this is accompanied by a full persuasion that it is preached in the meeting-house. To the external differences they are fully alive. Steeple and belfry are easily distinguished from a plain roof, surplices from Geneva cloaks, and even from the flowing robes which are rapidly supplanting among themselves the scantier garments of more rigid days; and when they chance, which some of them never do, to enter a church, the mode in which the services are conducted, and, not least, the sermon read from a manuscript, instead of being delivered extemporaneously, forcibly strike their senses. They are not used to these things, they feel awkwardly put to it to discover the proper place in the prayer-book, and find kneeling an inconvenient novelty. Chanting disposes them, and the loud responses of the charity children shock their notions of propriety. A solemn hymn sung to a racketty tune they have no objection to, for habit has accustomed them to such things; but the singing of a canticle which is not only not in rhyme, but not even in metre, strikes them as something popish. Accustomed to see the same faces around them whenever they assemble, they are discomposed at finding themselves amongst comparative strangers, though fellow-townsmen; and if they happen to catch the eye of an acquaintance, they have an unpleasant consciousness that their reason for being at church—one grounded on curiosity rather than piety—has been discovered."

Upon this class of dissenters the *Times* is now turning its charitable eye. These men "ignorant of the real points of difference between themselves and the church," it regards as easy game for state ecclesiastics. The attempt to play upon their fears was a lamentable error—but what may not be hoped from their want of appreciation of their own principles? Well may the *Times* conclude in the following significant strain:—

"Let us hope that no mistake like the Factory bill may again occur to stir up the prejudices of dissent—that the present quiescence may last long enough for the true principles of dissent, the difference between deliberate dissent and mere nonconformity, and the actual condition of the present race of nonconformists in relation to the church, to be fairly learnt and clearly understood—and we shall not perhaps be too sanguine in expecting a large and important increase in the numbers of those who take refuge in the TRUE FOLD."

"Surely, in vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird." This description of modern dissent, far too correct to be repudiated as calumnious, being drawn by the hand of an enemy, will produce, we should hope, a directly opposite purpose to that intended by the writer. It is unpleasant for the jaundiced man, who *will* go about as though he were in health, but it is, nevertheless, useful, to meet with a caricature of his own diseased appearance, heightened by the concealed malignity of a foe. It may possibly make his ears tingle with shame, but it may at least serve to convince him that he must betake himself to medicine. We know not how "the respectable and influential" dissenters who include "the large proportion of whatever learning, refinement, wealth, and moral worth is to be found in the genus," will relish this speculating upon their ignorance of their principles, and upon their continued quiescence, as a good ground whereon to build sanguine hopes of their speedy conformity. But thus much we shall venture to affirm—that the "let alone" policy abetted by

so many of their ministers, is not producing the pleasant fruits expected from it. They hesitate to advance upon the citadel of ecclesiastical fraud and intolerance—and the natural consequence of their indecision, is an attempt to weaken them by sowing the seeds of desertion among their own people. Whilst they are waiting for the church to perish by internal dissension, the church, far wiser in her generation, is taking advantage of their inactivity to draw over their most powerful and influential corps—and the sin of their own treachery to truth is likely to be visited with unexpected severity upon their heads. Nothing can preserve nonconformity but an active diffusion of a knowledge of its principles—and yet every plan hitherto proposed to spread that knowledge, is discredited as unwise and ill-timed. Where is this to end?

BEDFORD UNION AND THE PROPOSED CONVENTION.—The following communication, addressed to the editor, appeared in the *Patriot* of Thursday last:—

SIR—The following address to the dissenting ministers of the metropolis was agreed upon at a committee meeting of the Beds union, held yesterday. There were present eight ministers and some lay gentlemen. The address was unanimously carried, together with the request that you would insert a copy of it in the *Patriot* newspaper.

I remain, yours truly,
WILLIAM ALIOTT.
Secretary of the Beds Union of Christians.
Bedford, Oct. 10, 1843.

TO THE DISSENTING MINISTERS OF THE METROPOLIS.
DEAR BRETHREN—We have read with some concern an appeal in the *Patriot* addressed to you on the subject of a convention of dissenting ministers, to be held in London, for the purpose of taking some prompt and public measures to effect the immediate disruption of the connexion between the secular and ecclesiastical bodies in the established church of this country.

While we yield to none in the conviction of the unscriptural nature and injurious results of that alliance, we look upon such a step as the one proposed as, under present circumstances, inexpedient, and calculated rather to retard than to forward the object it seeks to accomplish.

We beg, therefore, respectfully to submit to you our views on this question, and to state, with all proper respect toward our brethren, that their proposal is directly opposed to the course which, in our judgment, it is right and fitting to pursue at this juncture.

Signed, on behalf of the meeting,
BLYTHE FOSTER, chairman.
Bedford, Oct. 9, 1843.

[The following we understand to have been the ministers and laymen present on the occasion:—Ministers, Messrs W. Alliot, Bedford; J. Jukes, Bedford; J. Frost, Cotton-end; H. Winzar, Roxton; T. Kent, Biggleswade; G. Phillips, Harrald; C. Morell, Blunham; and Dr Liefchild, London. Laymen, B. Foster, Esq., Biggleswade; and Messrs T. Kilpin, and R. Francis, of Bedford. We are informed that the publication of this counter-memorial is mainly to be ascribed to the counsel of Dr Liefchild, who had been engaged in preaching missionary sermons in Bedford. We have no right to find fault, nor do we, with the entertainment or expression, by any gentleman, of sentiments at variance with our own. We cannot but think, however, that as Dr Liefchild is one of the parties addressed by seventy-six of his brethren, resident in the midland counties, it would be more manly in him, and far more respectful to them, if, instead of putting forward others to speak his sentiments, he were to do so himself through the medium of the press. He could then give his reasons for objecting to the proposed convention, and possibly their weight would be sufficient to convince his country brethren of the impropriety of such a step at the present moment.]

ANTI-PUSEYITE MOVEMENT.—We are happy to learn that so many as two thousand clergy have signed the declaration and protest. We have now received several thousands of signatures to the lay address to the authorities at Oxford. We hear also of several towns in which it has been extensively supported, but which transmit the papers through other hands; such as Exeter, where about five hundred respectable inhabitants have signed; and Reading, where there have been more than four hundred. Among the signatures which have lately come to hand have been those of Lord Feversham, Lord Acheson, and Lord Bective. Our readers will, of course, distinguish between this lay address and the clerical declaration and protest.—Record.

NONCONFORMITY.—An excellent lecture was delivered, on Tuesday evening last, at the Long rooms, at the request of the Southampton association, for promoting the principles of nonconformity, by the Rev. W. Thorn, of Winchester, on the "Duty of Dissenters in the present day," with reference to the ecclesiastical establishment. The lecture was attended by upwards of 600 persons, and gave great satisfaction.—*Hants Independent*.

John Henry Davis,
Grant Court, Fleet St.

METROPOLITAN ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.

A short time ago we alluded to a design entertained by some of the more earnest dissenters of the metropolis concerned in the agitation against the Factories bill, of attempting to direct the enthusiasm against ecclesiastical intolerance then aroused against that great enemy of civil and religious liberty—the state church. This design was first put into effect by the establishment of the "East London Religious Liberty Society." We are glad to find that this intention has been still further carried out by the establishment of the Metropolitan Anti-state-church association, a society whose object is boldly, and honestly, and frankly expressed in the name which it has adopted. It has been formed chiefly for the purpose of arousing the inhabitants of the metropolis to the evils of church establishments, and to assist, as far as possible, in effecting their downfall. They will, however, be better indicated by the following quotation from its "constitution, objects, and laws."

" FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

" That civil governments have no right to legislate in matters of religion.

" That such legislation invades the inalienable rights of man and the sacred prerogatives of God.

" That the alliance existing in this kingdom between church and state is to be condemned, not only as a violation of this principle, but as a barrier to freedom, a bulwark of despotism, a fruitful source of social discord, and an impediment to the spread of vital Christianity."

" OBJECT.

" The dissolution of the alliance existing between church and state."

" CONSTITUTION.

" That this association consist of persons holding its fundamental principle, and contributing to its funds not less than one shilling annually.

" That the executive consist of a treasurer, two secretaries, and a committee of thirty members, who shall be elected annually by ballot; and that seven form a quorum.

" That the association shall have power to extend itself by means of auxiliaries as circumstances may require.

" MODES OF ACTION.

" That the association endeavour to secure its object—

" By holding general meetings of its members once a month, for the transaction of business, the adoption of measures suitable to passing circumstances, and the discussion of subjects akin to the principles of the society;

" By the delivery of lectures, the holding of public meetings, the distribution of tracts, and the dissemination of its principles by any other constitutional means;

" By opposing every attempt of the legislature to infringe upon the religious liberties of the people;

" By using all lawful means to secure the return to parliament of representatives favourable to the objects of the association;

" By co-operating, whenever it may be desirable, with other societies holding similar views."

Such are the object and plan of the new and, in every respect, unique association: and should the design be as well carried out as it is well conceived, it will prove a valuable auxiliary in the aggressive movement against church establishments.

The first monthly meeting of the members of this association was held on Wednesday evening last, when the following address was unanimously adopted:—

" ADDRESS OF THE METROPOLITAN ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.

" The course of establishments may be traced in blood."

ROBERT HALL.

" NONCONFORMISTS OF ENGLAND.—The agitation of the national mind indicates the approach of change. What that change may be none can determine. A few years may see us hurled back into the strong grasp of tyranny and superstition, from which we have but partially escaped; or may find us freed from their thrall, and joyously advancing towards a happy age of freedom and enlightenment. The issue must mainly depend upon our own conduct.

" Whenever the struggle comes, however, it will be an arduous and a deadly one. Our opponents exhibit energy and subtlety in their preparations. They are labouring to renew and repair the several agencies of statecraft—insidiously increasing the amount of their civil and military power—and especially directing their exertions to the extension of that most efficient of all engines for popular subjection—a national church. The proofs of this are various and conclusive. The stretching of the laws for the exaction of ecclesiastical imposts, bears witness to the fact. The late attempt to place the rising generation under priestly instruction, was an emanation of like character. And above all, the proposition so calmly made and so favourably received by the legislature to endow the Roman catholic church in Ireland, demonstrates how entirely our rulers regard religious establishments as convenient agents for working out political purposes.

" With these evidences of the determination to revive the ancient powers of priestcraft staring us in the face, it would be treason to the cause of religious freedom to remain passive. A timid, time-serving spirit will be destruction to our hopes—an independent, faithful, self-sacrificing one, will go far to ensure victory. Our only real safety is, in wholly uprooting the system now striving once more to creep into supremacy. There can be no permanent security either for the interests of truth or for the liberties of the people, so long as a germ of it remains. The history of establishments is one continuous evidence of this, and it is high time that we set ourselves in earnest utterly to destroy that machinery of religious ministration, that has in all ages, and amid all nations, been the greatest bane of humanity.

" Some there are who advise a less decided course of action—who would satisfy themselves with defending and increasing the privileges of nonconformity, and preparing its adherents to resist any future invasion of their rights. This policy has been already tried, and has miserably failed—aye, more than failed, for not only has it fallen short of its intended purpose—the attainment of greater freedom, but has actually endangered our existing liberties. No! our proper course in this, as in all other cases, is to seek the removal of the parent evil, and not to waste our strength in trying to get rid of the minor

grievances to which it gives birth. Aim to remedy the disease, and cease the endeavour to cure its symptoms.

" It is only by setting ourselves to the performance of a great work, that that high enthusiasm can be generated, without which no important triumph is ever gained. Little aims may do for little minds, but that object which shall rouse into activity the dormant energies of the nation, and call into life the fervent spirits, and giant intellects, that are scattered amid the people, must command admiration by the vastness of its purposes—must hold forth promise of grand results—and beget bright hopes for the furtherance of the highest interests of humanity.

" Be it remembered also, that in thus endeavouring to obtain that great desideratum, the separation of church and state, we adopt the most effectual means of securing all minor advantages. The determination, on our part, to wrest from the foe the rights withheld from us, will prevent any encroachment upon those we now enjoy. The organisation which serves as an engine of assault, will be equally efficient as a shield for our protection. Nay, the very circumstance of our taking upon ourselves the character of assailants, is the best guarantee for our safety. To stand on the defensive is to invite attack—to attack, is to place the enemy on the defensive.

" We think, however, that our duty as nonconformists may be clearly determined without any appeal to these and other like considerations of expediency. If we simply put to ourselves a few questions touching the rectitude of religious establishments, and resolve to act agreeably with the response of conscience, all indecision must cease. Let us ask whether a state-endowed priesthood is consistent with Christ's description of his kingdom? whether the pomp and riches of our titled church dignitaries are characteristic of Christianity? whether the lordly authority and coercive bigotry of ecclesiastics are embodiments of its mild precepts? whether the fruits borne by those zealous adherents of establishments—the aristocracy—savour of that humility, charity, and brotherly kindness, that are described as the products of our faith? whether, in short, the alliance of the church with the world is, either theoretically or practically, in accordance with the will of God? If, as we must, we answer these questions in the negative, our duty is plain. We are called upon to rescue Christianity from the evil company into which she has been dragged, to break the shackles in which she lies entangled, to wash out the stains of oppression and corruption with which her garb is defiled, to sweep away the accumulated abominations by which her beauties are concealed, and to overthrow the tables of the money-changers that have turned her temple into a den of thieves. The work is a righteous one. Where, then, is the excuse for standing idle? That which is right we are commanded by the Almighty to do; and it is our place to yield a confiding and implicit obedience, in the full conviction that, whatever may be the immediate result of our labours, the ultimate effects will be beneficial. That faith is of little worth which dares not to do right and take the consequences.

" But we would fain believe that these exhortations are needless. Symptoms of a more healthy state of feeling than that which has for so many years characterised the proceedings of dissenters are manifesting themselves, and we are sanguine in the anticipation that the standard of religious freedom has but to be uplifted to draw around it an army of faithful and zealous spirits, ready to spend their life's energy in fighting beneath its banner, until it waves in triumph over the ruins of ecclesiastical usurpation. We invite all such to join us. We would gather up and fan into a flame the now scattered embers of Christian patriotism, diffuse its invigorating warmth through the torpid ranks of our fellow citizens, exhibit by its light the dim horrors of priesthood, and kindle in the hearts of men a fiery energy and a fervent zeal in the cause of truth, that shall burn on unquenchably until the dark shrouds of error be consumed, and the gloom of bigotry and superstition disappears in the dawn of a brighter era.

" Signed, on behalf of the association,

GEORGE SIMMONS, & Honorary

CHARLES S. MIAIL, & Secretaries."

After the adoption of the address, a discussion took place upon the proposed anti-state-church convention. The opinion of the members was almost unanimous as to the propriety of such a step, and a resolution approving of the same was proposed and seconded, but, in consequence of a long discussion which took place relative to the wording of a resolution on the subject, the subject was adjourned, it being one of the rules of the association that no vote be taken after ten o'clock.

As this association has been formed to carry out, as well as to adopt, resolutions, immediate steps will be taken to arouse the attention of the metropolitan public to its object by the delivery of lectures, the distribution of tracts, and other modes of agitation. All communications for the secretaries may be addressed to 203, Upper Thames street, where persons may be enrolled as members of the association.

BOLTON VOLUNTARY CHURCH SOCIETY.—The want of unity of purpose, and effort, and efficient organisation among the friends of the voluntary principle in Bolton, has long been felt and deeply deplored. To wipe off the stain of past neglect, and supply the felt deficiency, a few active spirits resolved to make a bold and determined effort to rally and organise the adherents of the heaven-born principle of Christian willingness. Accordingly the leading young men of the different dissenting congregations were invited to meet on the evening of Friday the 13th inst, in the vestry of Mowdsby Street chapel, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of forming a voluntary church society, and fixing on a constitution. At the time appointed a goodly number assembled, and the greatest unanimity and heartiness pervaded the meeting. Mr James Tyfe, baptist minister, having been voted into the chair, the following resolutions were proposed and unanimously adopted:—

" 1. This meeting regarding compulsion in religion as anti-scriptural, unjust, and injurious; and holding voluntaryism to be the only scriptural, reasonable, and efficient system for supporting and propagating the gospel; and believing it to be the duty of every one entertaining such views, to endeavour, especially under present circumstances, to diffuse them as widely as possible—resolved, for the purpose, to form itself into an association.

II. That the following be the rules of this association:—

" 1. That it be designated 'The Bolton Young Men's Voluntary Church association.'

" 2. The object of this society shall be to diffuse information upon the voluntary question, by lectures—by the issue of cheap publications—by corresponding and co-operating with other societies having similar objects—and by holding public meetings when the necessities of the times require it.

" 3. This association shall consist of all persons being voluntary supporters of the worship of Almighty God, who shall conform to the rules of this society.

" 4. The affairs of this association shall be managed by a president, two secretaries, a treasurer, and a committee of twenty-four—one-third of which to form a quorum—who shall have power to make any bye laws that may be necessary, subject to the approval of a meeting of the association.

" 5. This association shall meet every quarter, for the purpose of receiving statements of the proceedings of the committee, and hearing information. The meeting in October of each year shall be the annual meeting, at which a general report of the association, and statement of the treasurer's accounts shall be presented, and the committee elected for the ensuing year."

GROSS VIOLATION OF LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.—In reference to a paragraph on this subject which appeared in a late number, a correspondent writes:—" You reported the case of Mr Miller (confined in Horsham gaol on some creditor's suit), who was subjected to 'close confinement' because he would not attend the worship of the state church, performed in the gaol. He wrote to Sir James Graham on the subject. On September 16th, there was a meeting of magistrates at Horsham, to which he was summoned. The magistrates treated him with respect and kindness; heard his statement, and remarked 'that, certainly no one ought to be coerced to attend the chapel, and that, for the future, he had the liberty of attending or not attending, as he pleased.' The parson, who was there, and through whom, it is believed, the stringent rules respecting attendance on his exhibitions were made, was recommended, to his no small apparent mortification, for the future to read some portion of the scriptures. It is pleasant to find that Mr Miller's firmness of mind should have thus, in fact, settled the question that, because a man is in custody as to his body for debt, his soul is not to be put into the custody of the state church. What an evil is this state church! Did no such thing exist, could such an audacious attempt as that to which Mr Miller was subjected, be made?"

CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.—Another "Senex"

sends the following communication on this subject:—" The letter of your correspondent 'Senex,' in your excellent journal of the 4th inst, reminds me of the following amusing incident, which was related to me when in Bristol many years ago, as a fact that had recently taken place:—The cathedral in College green having undergone some repairs, the mason employed on the occasion hauled away the rubbish that was left, and shot it into a hollow near some houses he was building at the top of Park street. But, alas, poor man! he little thought what he was about, for he had never been schooled into the solemn mysteries of mother church. He was, however, soon undeceived by a note from one of the dignitaries of the church (the dean, I believe), expressing great surprise at what he had done—inquiring whether he did not know that it was *holy* earth which he had taken away, and commanding him to bring it all back immediately. Now, it so happened that the worthy builder, though not versed in ecclesiastical legerdemain, was, nevertheless, a man of shrewd common sense; and, therefore, in reply to the communication he had received, he humbly declared that he had quite unwittingly committed the act, and regretted that the rubbish having been mixed with other rubbish, and being himself so ignorant as not to be able to distinguish consecrated from unconsecrated earth, it was out of his power to attend to the orders he had received. But, in conclusion, he added, that if his worship would come and make the important separation, his commands should, at once, be obeyed. Here, I was informed, the matter ended."

UNITED SECESSION SYNOD.

(From our Correspondent.)

The Supreme Court of the United Secession church met in Edinburgh on Monday, 2nd ult. The usual introductory sermon being delivered by the retiring moderator, Mr Andrew Elliot Ford, Mr Thomas Struthers, Hamilton, was, by a considerable majority, chosen moderator for the ensuing half year; who took his seat accordingly. On Monday evening the Synod appointed committees to receive and arrange the order of business, as it behoved at its ensuing *sederunts* to be laid before the court, and on Tuesday forenoon *sederunt* was mostly occupied with the usual devotional exercises as preparatory to the future business in prospect. Almost the first matters taken up were two interesting communications. One from the

WELSH CALVINISTIC METHODISTS, between which highly respectable body and the synod, there has for years existed the most fraternal sympathy—a feeling which was most manifestly displayed in such communication. It closed by most affectionately soliciting the Synod that they would be pleased to send a deputation on a Christian visit to them, in order to see for themselves how far existing circumstances might promote a more intimate fellowship—which deputation was most cheerfully appointed. There was also read a similar document from the

RELIEF SYNOD, betwixt which body and the United secession, negotiations have long been proceeding for a complete union, and which, as there exists betwixt these two bodies such harmony of doctrine and church order, on its most essential points, has been viewed as extremely desirable—a measure manifestive of unabated affection, and their anxiety to prosecute every legitimate object for its speedy

and comfortable adjustment, very much paved the way to promote.

Amidst many other things which came before the court, most of them merely local in their reference, we come now to a subject which may be conceived to concern the church of God universally as well as themselves; we mean the existing state of their church with respect to different views supposed to be prevalent amongst them for these some years past, on certain bearings of the great atonement effected by our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. So important was the matter deemed, that we seldom remember to have witnessed a more numerous attendance of ministers and elders, even from the remotest localities of their church, convoked, one and all of them more than usually anxious as to the result. Of these proceedings it is of course only a mere outline, and scarcely even this, since they occupied the portion of nearly two days, that we can possibly admit into our columns. Never had the court felt greater reason to thank the Great Head of the church for the general unanimity which, notwithstanding other appearances at one time, has prevailed. Though the conference occupied two days, yet we have heard of none who grudged the time thus devoted to the reconciliation of certain supposed differences arising from (as was on investigation sufficiently obvious) the misinterpretation of mere verbal expressions, which had been inadvertently introduced in their public ministrations, more especially by the younger members of court; and which tended to the diffusion, or rather reproduction of that brotherly unity, both in doctrine and affection, long known to prevail throughout that large and otherwise respectable body, and to whom North Britain had for more than a century been chiefly indebted for the maintenance of anything like the principle and form of "true and undefiled religion." It was accordingly no small point gained to have complete confidence restored among them. Our feelings will, therefore, be easily conjectured, when we have seen them all depart for such conference, not only in greater harmony of feeling with each other, than when they assembled, but now at no loss to feed their respective flocks with the same pure and heavenly provision—the more consistently that they are now convinced, that "the truth, and nothing but the truth, as it is in Jesus," would henceforth, as it had been for more than a hundred years, be published in all their pulpits, or be countenanced by their generally intelligent and becoming people. In bidding them, in these circumstances necessarily, "farewell," some to our populous cities, others to our mountain glens, and a third portion even so far as the Ultima Thule of Britain; we have found them impatient to return to their respective trusts, that wherever they go, they may diffuse the utmost joy and thanksgiving, that "the evil one" never must have found himself more bitterly disappointed, in discovering that "the blow" which he aimed so malignantly at the long-existing and happy confederacy, had been triumphantly, and it is to be hoped, for ever averted.

The exciting questions to which we have alluded, came before the court for friendly conference on

Thursday and Friday.

The papers produced on the occasion bore, that certain differences of opinion existed, or were supposed to exist, in the body, regarding certain bearings of the doctrine of the atonement of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Two distinct overtures, both originating in the presbytery of Paisley, respectfully demanded a friendly and confidential conference of all the members of synod on the occasion, as the only legitimate means of preventing a result, which some, less sanguine than themselves, somehow feared. The first overture requested the Court to take into consideration the preface to a pamphlet entitled "Polhill on the Extent of the Atonement," and which preface, Dr Balmer, one of their esteemed theological tutors, had lately avowed was written by himself; and the second solicited a free and confidential conference, regarding certain reports current, as to differences of sentiment on some important articles of faith, entertained throughout this body; and especially that those two most respected theological tutors, Drs Brown and Balmer, should be called up to state confidentially their views on these points. After some discussion, the synod agreed to take up the second of these first. In a committee of the whole house; and, though contrary to the expressed wishes of Drs Brown and Balmer, it was deemed most expedient, with the view of securing the utmost confidence in the proposed conference, to enter upon it with closed doors. These matters, of which, of course, we are thereby precluded from giving an account, occupied the committee for two days, during which there existed, as we have been credibly informed, the utmost possible harmony—during one of the most friendly and confidential conferences ever held by the synod, though nearly 300 members were present. Indeed, we understand that, had it been consistent with the consuetudinary practice, in the matter of committees, to hold such a conference before the whole Christian public, nothing passed of which any friends of the synod had reason to be ashamed—greatly the reverse. During the above-mentioned conference, it was found, that except among uncandid and uncharitable men, determined to have the very *ipsissima* verbiage of truth stated according to their own favourite phraseology, there could be conceived, after all the evil reports that had otherwise been current, no essential difference. The whole seemed to evaporate in questions of mere words and phrases, without any essential shade of difference in principle or faith; and even where this was found to be otherwise, it regarded views of the same solemn truth, not permitted to mortal man satisfactorily to conceive or explain, and in reference to which, great and good men will

"agree to differ," till a more enlightened region of existence become their sacred and everlasting inheritance. The result of the whole, as prepared by a sub-committee of its leading members, will be found stated in the following report, which we would conceive improper to give otherwise than *verbatim*:

"The committee, having spent various sittings in full, free, and brotherly conference on the matter brought before them by the overture, particularly on the subject of the atonement of our Saviour, were delighted to find that, on explanation, supposed diversities of sentiment in a great measure disappeared, and that scriptural harmony prevailed among the brethren. That, in particular on the two aspects of the atonement, there was entire harmony—viz., that, in making the atonement, the Saviour bore special covenant relations to the elect, had a special love to them, and infallibly secured their everlasting salvation; and that his obedience unto the death afforded such a satisfaction to the justice of God as that, on the ground of it, in consistency with his character and law, the door of mercy is open to all men, and a full and free salvation is presented for their acceptance. The committee find that the misunderstanding has mainly arisen from the use of ambiguous language, such as 'universal atonement,' 'limited atonement,' and other equivocal expressions; and they therefore recommend to all ministers and preachers to abstain from such phraseology in future, and from the use of all such expressions as seem to be inconsistent with the general relations of the atonement on the one hand, and its special relations on the other, and to avail themselves of scriptural and well understood language, and to study the things which make for peace, and whereby they may promote the edification of the body of Christ."

In justice to what we understand passed when the above report was adopted, it becomes us to state that what may be called its doctrinal part, which respects the twofold bearings of the atonement on the human race, there was the utmost harmony of view. Any difference apparent arose solely from what should be regarded as ambiguous terms. The expression "universal atonement," as the *vox signata* of Arminianism, was universally censured, and which, with the exception of a few, was measured in the same condemnatory terms towards its opposite, "limited atonement." Some, indeed, inquired very naturally what kind of atonement did this mean? When it was very properly replied that the atonement meant was sufficiently indicated in the first part of the report, which, while it infallibly secured the salvation of the elect, at the same time opened the door of mercy to all men.

Correspondence.

THE TITLE "REVEREND."

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—Having read in your pages the letters of Mr Malleson, "N. W. M." and of "One who Cares much less about Reverends than your Correspondents," I feel disposed to say a few words on the subject. I do not altogether agree with either of these three writers, for it appears to me that the first and second make too much of this title, and the third too little. I perfectly agree with your friend, who has so long a name, that the word as applied by the psalmist has nothing at all to do with the subject, and the reasoning of your correspondent is to my mind altogether conclusive, and yet I agree with both Mr M. and "N. W. M." in heartily wishing that every dissenting minister would renounce it for ever. I do so for the following reasons:—

1. The assumption or reception of the title of reverend does appear to me to be a departure from the simplicity of the religion of Jesus Christ.

2. In the present day, when a white surplice and a candlestick speak volumes, and a feather thrown into the air shows which way the wind blows, I feel a strong aversion to everything that savours in the least degree of Puseyism, and therefore I object to set my foot on the first round of the papal ladder. If I can quietly and conscientiously take my standing as a "reverend," surely my brother may mount a little higher, and be a "very reverend." May not also another ascend above him, and be exalted to a "right reverend father in God," and so on, till we see "his holiness the Pope," standing on the top of the ladder?

In conclusion, though I think Mr Malleson has expressed his objections too strongly, yet I greatly admire the truly Christian spirit which breathes throughout the whole of his letter, and most devoutly wish that all controversialists would write in the same manner.

I am, sir, yours very respectfully,

A BAPTIST BISHOP.

THE CHELSEA PENSIONERS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR—I have just seen a paragraph in page 699 of your current number, stating that the paymaster of the pensioners for the district of Liverpool had received orders to stop the payment of pensions to any pensioners who could be identified as having attended the late meeting for the repeal of the union at the Liverpool amphitheatre, and to make it generally known amongst the whole body that their pensions would be stopped if they took any part whatever, directly or indirectly, either now, or at any future time, in this pernicious agitation. With all due deference to the authorities from which this order emanates, I cannot but think that in issuing it they have exceeded their proper powers. Without professing any acquaintance with the law on this subject, I would humbly submit that pensions are granted for services which have already been performed, and not with the view of retaining pensioners in the service of government for anything which may hereafter be deemed necessary by it, though it is invested with a discretionary power to call upon them for the performance of garrison duty, which, if they refuse to perform, their pensions may be stopped. That this is a correct view of the case may, I think, be inferred from ministers asking for further powers last session, which they obtained by the passing of the Chelsea Pensioners bill. Were it otherwise, the large body of pensioners would be to all intents and purposes a standing army, whose existence is contrary to constitutional law, from the circumstance of its

not being provided for in the army estimates. But in addition to this argument, if I err not, the order in question is opposed to the generally received theory of the British constitution, which allows them, in this respect, the exercise of their rights as subjects and as citizens. I may be allowed to express hope that these rights pensioners will be solicitous to preserve, and not suffer themselves to be treated as puppets in the hands of arbitrary power, without inquiry or resistance. It behoves us also carefully to preserve our constitution from being further encroached upon by the introduction of any specious usage, or creation of mischievous precedents, which may fetter the liberty of generations yet unborn. Hoping these few remarks will draw attention to the subject,

I remain, sir, yours most respectfully,

W. S. SMALL.

Derby, Fowler street, Oct. 12th, 1843.

THE REVENUE.

Abstract of the Net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain, in the Years and Quarters ended 10th Oct., 1842 and 1843, showing the Increase or Decrease thereof.

	YEARS ENDED OCT. 10th.			
	1842.	1843.	Increase	Decrease
Customs	£ 19,656,495	£ 18,590,340	... 1,166,155	
Excise	£ 12,124,566	£ 11,786,044	... 338,522	
Stamps	£ 6,547,863	£ 6,464,256	... 83,607	
Taxes	£ 4,297,439	£ 4,207,792	... 89,647	
Property Tax	£ 313,844	£ 5,052,057	£ 4,738,213	...
Post-office	£ 591,000	£ 590,000	... 1,000	
Crown Lands	£ 142,000	£ 137,500	... 14,500	
Miscellaneous	£ 572,926	£ 1,644,361	£ 1,071,435	...
Total Ordinary Revenue	£ 44,346,133	£ 48,399,350	£ 5,809,648	£ 1,663,431
Imprest and other Monies	£ 430,501	£ 225,489	... 205,012	
Repayments of Advances for Public Works	£ 593,993	£ 728,434	£ 135,141	...
Total Income	£ 45,269,927	£ 49,346,273	£ 5,944,789	£ 1,868,443
Deduct Decrease	£ 1,868,443	...		
Increase on the Year	£ 4,076,346	...		

	QUARTERS ENDED OCT. 10th.			
	1842.	1843.	Increase	Decrease
Customs	£ 5,943,977	£ 5,529,508	... 414,469	
Excise	£ 3,726,035	£ 3,966,550	£ 240,515	...
Stamps	£ 1,631,480	£ 1,650,366	£ 18,886	...
Taxes	£ 177,437	£ 194,100	£ 16,663	...
Property Tax	£ 313,844	£ 2,047,904	£ 1,734,060	...
Post-office	£ 168,000	£ 160,000	... 8,000	
Crown Lands	£ 12,500	£ 20,000	£ 7,500	...
Miscellaneous	£ 20,924	£ 17,744	... 3,180	
Total Ordinary Revenue	£ 11,994,197	£ 13,586,172	£ 2,017,694	£ 425,649
Imprest and other Monies	£ 111,070	£ 34,305	... 76,765	
Repayments of Advances for Public Works	£ 180,211	£ 230,939	£ 50,721	...
Total Income	£ 12,285,478	£ 13,851,409	£ 2,068,345	£ 503,414
Deduct Decrease	£ 502,414	...		
Increase on the Quarter	£ 1,565,931	...		

Income and Charge on the Consolidated Fund, in the Quarters ended Oct. 10, 1842 and 1843.

	QUARTERS ENDED 10th Oct.	
	1842.	1843.
INCOME.		
Customs	£ 4,647,472	£ 4,276,151
Excise	£ 3,744,523	£ 3,982,647
Stamps	£ 1,631,480	£ 1,650,366
Taxes	£ 177,437	£ 194,100
Property Tax	£ 313,844	£ 2,047,904
Post-office	£ 168,000	£ 160,000
Crown Lands	£ 12,500	£ 20,000
Miscellaneous	£ 20,924	£ 17,744
Imprest and other Monies	£ 111,070	£ 34,305
Repayment of Advances	£ 180,211	£ 230,939
	£ 11,007,461	£ 12,614,149
To Cash brought to this Account to be applied to pay off Deficiency Bills	...	£ 100,000
	£ 11,007,461	£ 12,714,149

	QUARTERS ENDED 10th Oct.	
	1842.	1843.
CHARGE.		
Permanent Debt	£ 3,397,962	£ 3,395,198
Terminable Annuities	£ 1,373,402	£ 1,328,281
Interest on Exchequer Bills issued to meet the Charge on the Consolidated Fund	£ 32,449	£ 21,009
Sinking Fund	£ 97,482	£ 97,613
Civil List	£ 328,590	£ 326,014
Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund	£ 173,627	£ 140,000
For Advances and to pay off Exchequer Bills issued for Advances	£ 5,403,512	£ 5,308,115
	£ 5,60	

The Complete Suffrage Movement.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL COMPLETE SUFFRAGE UNION.

On Monday afternoon, a special general meeting of the Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union, was held at their Office, 37, Waterloo street, Birmingham, the President in the chair. The meeting was called to consider the propriety of issuing an address to the public, founded on the letter of Mr W. S. Crawford, the member for Rochdale, to Mr Sturge, as president of the Union.

CORRESPONDENCE.—Letters were read from London, Yewtree, Glasgow, Bath, Crawfordsburn, Cheltenham, Edinburgh, Bridgwater, Kettering, Crediton, Pershore, Reading, High Holborn, Taunton, Kendall, Bungay, Newcastle, Dublin, Grinstead, and Tynemouth.

OPINIONS OF CORRESPONDENTS ON MR CRAWFORD'S LETTER, AND DRAFT COPY OF THE PROPOSED ADDRESS FOUNDED THEREON:

YEWTREE, LIVERPOOL.—Lawrence Heyworth, Esq., thus writes to Mr Sturge:—

"Yewtree, Oct. 12th, 1843.

"**MY DEAR SIR**—I have read over with care the draft copy of the address of the Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, inclosed with your note of the 9th instant, relative to which you invite my observations.

"When a want of employment, for the wealth-making industry of the country, is everywhere experienced; when the falling off of the taxes to the amount of five millions per annum, indicates with certainty, national declension; when, by the consent of all political parties, universal distress exists, and is prevalent throughout the nation; when rankling discontent in the four nations which compose the British people, openly manifests popular dissatisfaction and disaffection; when the monster anomaly of exacting taxes from unrepresented masses of the people—alike abhorrent to the law of God, 'Thou shalt not steal,' and to the charter of our country's constitution, which demands that no one shall be taxed without consent first had and obtained through his own representative in parliament, is, impiously and treacherously maintained, and its constitutional and righteous remedy of complete suffrage pertinaciously rejected—when under these circumstances the majority in parliament turn a deaf ear to the entreaties of the people, who petition for inquiry into the causes of such wide-spread evils, and refuse to entertain their earnest application for parliamentary investigation into the remedies for such portentous national calamities—surely then it is the duty of a patriotic minority to brave the odium of exercising an extreme measure of parliamentary privilege, guaranteed to them by the constitution, purposedly to meet a great national contingency of this critical nature; and, by stopping the supplies, to force such imperatively required inquiries upon the serious consideration of what ought to be, and what is professed, the people's House of Commons. It would be criminal, and a betrayal of his high trust, on the part of any member of that house, who conscientiously believing that the heroic little band were actuated in the adoption of this extreme course of parliamentary usage, by honest zeal for the public weal, if he did not join them. Having long entertained these views, I cordially approve the substance of the address in question, and am, my dear sir, yours most respectfully,

LAWRENCE HEYWORTH.

"To Joseph Sturge, Esq., Birmingham."

TAUNTON.—"Mr Crawford's letter has been laid before a general meeting of our Complete Suffrage union, and elicited general approbation."

FROM MR VINCENT.—"I am glad you are about to address the country on the admirable address by Mr W. S. Crawford, and I sincerely trust there will be sufficient spirit among the earnest friends of democracy to act upon its constitutional advice."

CREDITON.—"I have conferred with several friends on the subject of Mr Crawford's letter, the importance of which we are deeply impressed with. We feel anxious to be informed as to the report of the committee appointed to take the letter into serious consideration."

KETTERING.—"Mr Crawford's letter is just such an one as I have long wished to see. I think the power to which he advertises, a very important one, but it will require some caution and much support from the country, to work it efficiently. I very much approve of the address, of which you enclosed a copy."

BRIDGWATER.—"I have shown the proposed address of the Council to some of my suffrage friends here; they all approve of it. In reference to Mr Crawford's plan, an intelligent minister of the gospel writes thus—'An admirable plan, quite constitutional; and, if practicable, sure to be effective. But though Crawford is the Leonidas, where are the members of the little band who are to stand in his Thermopylae? *Hic labor, hoc opus est*; the movement is onward.'"

EDINBURGH.—"I have submitted to a number of the friends of complete suffrage the proposed address of the Council, on Mr Crawford's proposition of refusing to grant supplies till the grievances of the people are redressed. They unanimously concurred with me in considering the suggestion one of great value, and calculated to unite reformers of different shades of opinion, in one definite and weighty plan of political action."

CHELTENHAM.—"The letter of our esteemed friend Crawford is a document of considerable import—it bears marks of acute discernment and profound wisdom. The recommendation contained in it, if carried out, and with perseverance, I see but trifling impediment in the way of it, would even in its novelty effect much with the people, and I question whether a second session of parliament would pass over without its practical effects being made manifest on the government. Such constitutional resistance would occasion a more searching inquiry into the disposal of the people's money—would make the spendthrifts among the aristocracy ashamed and tremble; and have not the least doubt, if carried into effect, by such good men and true—fully determined to persevere, and backed by a powerful public opinion, that such a spirited and patriotic course, eventually, and that before long, representative government would be established itself safely, and without commotion or confusion, on the ruins of a besotted and tottering oligarchy. Thus much will be effected, even from the just

efforts of our campaigning—that those who at the present time, through prejudice, charge us with insincerity, will be made to see that we are really in earnest, and those who are free, among working men, to think for themselves will and must fall in, and cannot possibly fall out with us. The address draft is a spirited, and an astounding document. It must, if well circulated, have a striking effect on the public mind. It meets with my approval, and shall have my strenuous support in giving it publicity. Our friends are quite elated with it."

CRAWFORDSBURN.—The following letter was received from Mr Charles Crawford, son of the member for Rochdale:—

"Crawfordsburn, Oct. 13, 1843.

"Dear Sir—I yesterday received your letter, with a copy of the address proposed to be submitted to the council of the Complete Suffrage association, on Monday next, for their consideration. I deeply regret that it will be out of my power to attend on that occasion in Birmingham, as I feel that the step about to be taken is one of the greatest importance, and may probably lead to the most beneficial results to the cause of complete suffrage.

"The address appears to me so suitable to the occasion, that I can scarcely suggest any improvement or alteration. I am, yours most truly,

CHARLES S. CRAWFORD.

"To James H. Wilson, Esq., Sec."

GLASGOW.—"The very excellent course proposed to be acted on by Mr W. S. Crawford will doubtless tend to stir up the people. Let there only be some common ground on which reformers of all names can meet to unite their efforts against the common enemy, and the time may come sooner than was expected when mere party names and party distinctions will be altogether disregarded amidst the generous and energetic struggles of a nation determined to be free. So far as I have learned, there is a most decided feeling in favour of this plan of Mr Crawford. It is surely the duty of the people to leave no means untried for the accomplishment of an object so great, and in which they are so deeply interested."

FROM MR T. SPENCER, A.M.—"I think Mr W. S. Crawford's letter one of great importance, and, if acted upon with prudence and firmness, so as to command the approval of the country, it may accomplish much."

FROM MR THOMAS BEGGS.—"Mr Crawford's letter is everywhere approved."

FROM MR H. SULLY.—"I think Mr Crawford's letter is admirable, and much approve of the proposed address."

FROM MR WM. LOVETT.—"I very much approve of the address and Mr Sharman Crawford's letter, the proposed objects of which we have already taken some steps to forward."

NEWCASTLE.—"The council of our union have considered Mr Crawford's letter, and their feeling may be thus expressed:—the highest approval of the letter; their concurrence in the general mode of proceeding laid down; their determination to support it as far as lies in their power."

LONDON.—"I return you thanks for your well-timed address. I trust it will tend to arouse the dormant energies of those whose duty and interest ought to prompt them to action in the good work of political reform. I think Mr Crawford's plan, if acted on, will not fail to shake the tree of corruption."

[Those correspondents who refer to the address are members of council, who were requested to send their opinions of it, if they could not make it convenient to attend the special meeting.]

THE ADDRESS.

The committee on Mr Crawford's letter reported the following address, which was unanimously adopted:—

THE COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL COMPLETE SUFFRAGE UNION TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

"The House of Commons has proved itself unworthy of the people's confidence. It has no title whatever to be considered as the Commons' house of parliament. It is not in unison with the popular will, and its proceedings do not command the popular respect."

"These were the terms in which the council of the 'National Complete Suffrage Union' addressed the Queen, in a memorial presented by Sir James Graham, in August, 1842. They apply with equal force to the House of Commons in 1843. Witness its recent proceedings:—

It refused to inquire into the extent and causes of manufacturing distress, by 306
Against 191

Majority 115
It refused to inquire into the conduct of Lord Abinger on the chartist trials, by 228
Against 73

Majority 155
It refused to make the poor laws conformable to Christianity, sound policy, and the ancient statutes of the realm, by 126
Against 58

Majority 68
It refused to relieve the pressure of taxation, and to postpone the supplies until the whole system of expenditure were investigated, by 62
Against 15

Majority 47
It refused to consider the granting the annuity to the Princess Augusta, with due respect to the state of the finances and the distress of the people, by 276
Against 52

Majority 224
It refused to reduce the standing army, by 108
Against 20

Majority 86

It refused to inquire whether there are any special burdens affecting the landed interest, and if any special exemptions are enjoyed by that interest, by 232
Against 133

Majority 99
And then it refused to abolish the corn-laws, by 381
Against 125

Majority 256
"It refused to adopt two important motions, which were proposed in succession, on the subject of Irish wrongs, and got rid of them by allowing the house to be counted out, although several nights had been spent in debate on these motions—one of which proposed an address to the Queen, praying for 'such a settlement of church property in Ireland, as would remove all just ground of complaint,' and the other was for a committee to consider the cause of prevailing discontent in Ireland, with a view to the redress of grievances, and the establishment of just and impartial government. On the other hand, it passed the Irish Arms bill, after negativing numerous amendments. It passed a law to compel the out-pensioners of Chelsea to become a military constabulary force. And it was only restrained from passing the Factories' Education bill—a measure involving a gross outrage on the rights of conscience and the religious liberty of the people—by the universal expression of an indignant public opinion. Nor is this all. Of the whole 658 members who constitute the House of Commons, only 32 were in their places to vote for leave to bring in a bill for the complete representation of the people, and to shorten the duration of parliaments. And on a motion for a repeal of the Septennial act—the smallest measure of reform—only twenty-three names were found in the minority, while the majority against it contained the leader of the Reform bill party in the house!

"So disgraceful a record of parliamentary proceedings has rarely, if ever, been surpassed in the history of this or any other country, and the example thus set by the nominal representatives of the people, is naturally followed by oppression, monopoly, extravagance, and corruption in every department of the state. Hence we are not surprised to find, on the records of last session of parliament, the following votes, in support of what is called our peace establishment:—

Army £6,619,000
Navy 6,383,000
Ordnance 1,850,000

Arming the Chelsea pensioners and building new military barracks 140,000

"Among the miscellaneous and extra estimates, which amount to upwards of £8,000,000, are found the following items:—

Rebuilding the Ambassador's house, at Constantiople £33,000
Secret service 40,000
Repairs to royal palaces, &c. 104,000
Legal expenses, special commission 40,000
Compensation to opium smugglers 1,250,000
Chinese and Indian wars 4,000,000

"Nor is it surprising that the general expenditure of the country should have exceeded the income by upwards of five millions, during the last two years, to meet which, an inquisitorial income tax, pressing with equal force on the profits of industry, and the proceeds of realized property, has been levied; nor that 'within nine years, parliament has added by its votes forty-two millions sterling, to the national debt of the country, and within three years has added eight millions sterling to the taxation of the country.'

"Under these circumstances, it becomes the imperative duty of every honest citizen to consider seriously, what legitimate measures can be adopted, to obtain from parliament that redress which the appeals of reason, and the claims of suffering millions, have alike failed to secure. To this your attention has already been directed by a public letter from William Sharman Crawford, member for Rochdale, to the President of the National Complete Suffrage Union. His proposal is that 'the people claim from their representatives a recurrence to the constitutional principle, that their grievances should be investigated and redressed before the supplies are voted,'—and he adds, that 'the forms of the House are constructed with the view of the practical enforcement of this principle.'

"That the representatives of the people in parliament have a right to adopt this course is unquestionable. William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, said, 'Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone.' De Lolme, in his celebrated work on the British constitution, speaks of the right of withholding the supplies, as 'the only ultimate forcible privilege possessed by the British parliament,' as the 'safeguard of all the liberties of the people, religious and civil.' In the face of these authorities it will not be contended that the House of Commons have no right to stop the supplies. If, however, it should be said, that a minority in that House have no such right, it is a sufficient reply that the forms of the House themselves admit the right and provide for its exercise, by a few individual members, though against the will of the whole body. It may also be argued that the majority of the House stand convicted of having obtained their seats by the most flagitious bribery and corruption, and do not, in fact, represent even the present limited constituency, and therefore, the adoption by the real representatives of

* Vide speech of William Williams, M.P. for Coventry, in the house of Commons, Monday, June 12, 1843.



the people of the course recommended, is both just and necessary, as a means of restoring the violated constitution, which provides that 'law, to bind all, must be assented to by all,' + 'that no subject of England can be constrained to pay any aids or taxes, even for the defence of the realm, or the support of the government, but such as are imposed by his own consent, or that of his representative in parliament.' †

"By moving amendments on every motion of supply, 'no progress could be made with the voting of the estimates, until the demands and grievances of the people had been first heard, and the discussions of the House taken on the various propositions for their redress.' ‡ The majority of the people have complained of grievances. Let them be heard. If no grievances are proved, no supplies can be withheld. But if mis-government be demonstrated, they ought to be refused until redress be obtained. This is a mode of action, both sound in justice, and recommended by its having been successfully used, in former periods of our history, to resist the encroachments of the crown.

"There can be no question that all parties would concur in opposing any covert attempt to subvert this great privilege. For this reason we think it would not be possible to alter the standing orders of the House of Commons, so as to enable the ministry to obtain the supplies, without submitting to the introduction of a discussion of grievances. If such an attempt were made, the discussions and divisions which must follow, would at once have the effect of 'showing forward before the public both the true men and the false men, and would force the latter either to fall into the ranks of the people's true servants, or retire from a post which they have not the honesty or the courage to defend.' ‡

"It is a most important and valuable feature of the plan, that it admits of the co-operation of every member in the House, whose constituents have grievances to complain of. It presents a common ground, in many of its details, on which men holding opposite views on different subjects, may consistently unite for the reform of abuses, the evils of which all are prepared to acknowledge, and for the removal of which all are ready to contend.

"The member for Rochdale concludes, that 'unless a body of members, steady, and determined to act together, can be found, it would be useless to attempt any effort of the nature proposed.' ‡ The first practical question then is, can such a body of members be found in the House of Commons? In our judgment a few honest and determined men, acting on the suggestion now made, could not only keep the government in check, and neutralise the power of a dominant oligarchy, but would also, by their zealous and independent conduct, create that public opinion which would be necessary to encourage and sustain them.

"We submit the plan proposed to the earnest consideration of every reformer. We entreat that you, the people of Great Britain and Ireland, will take prompt measures for ascertaining if those who profess to represent you, are prepared firmly to oppose the granting of further supplies, until your grievances are redressed. We advise you immediately to make this the one question upon which to address members of parliament during the recess. Tell them that the discussion and redress of the grievances of the people being the paramount duty of parliament, no taxes ought to be granted, till they have been heard and redressed. Make them understand that in your estimation the monopoly of legislation is the master-grievance. Show them that the great body of our intelligent population are convinced of the justice and safety of conceding to all men an equality of political rights; and that on this foundation only, is there hope for just and impartial legislation. Heartily acknowledge the faithful services of those members of parliament, who have steadily supported your cause, and encourage them to increased and persevering effort, by expressing your firm conviction, that, if true to each other, and the righteous principles they advocate, success will be certain. Be importunate in urging your representatives to constant and watchful attendance in the House; and in the most emphatic manner protest against the practice of pairing off. If a course of conduct of this kind be generally adopted and zealously carried out, a constitutional triumph will be achieved over a despotism which is now trampling on the rights of the people and controlling the prerogatives of the crown, and which has inflicted the severest calamities on our common country—a country so eminently blessed by Divine Providence, that it is capable of maintaining our great and growing population in comfort and abundance, if relieved of the enormous evils of class legislation, and governed by just and equal laws.

"Signed in the name and on behalf of the Council,
"JOSEPH STURGE, president.
"Birmingham, Oct. 16th, 1843."

Resolved—"That the address now read and adopted be published at the discretion of the executive committee."

MOVEMENT IN BIRMINGHAM IN FAVOUR OF MR CRAWFORD'S LETTER, &c.

The committee reported, that on Friday evening, a numerous meeting had been held, in the offices of the Union, called by circular, to consider the present position and future prospects of the cause of an equality of political rights. Mr Crawford's letter was read to the meeting, unanimously approved of, and a committee appointed to take steps in Birmingham for carrying out the object it recommends. The committee also reported, that at the same meeting, a strong feeling of sympathy was expressed for the people of Ireland, in the present circumstances, and

+ *Principia Leg. et Reguit*, pp. 56 (quoted by Granville Sharp).

‡ *Blackstone's Commentaries*, book 1, ch. 1.

|| *Vide W. S. Crawford's letter.*

a requisition agreed to, soliciting the Mayor to call an early public meeting, to memorialise the Queen not to allow British arms and money to be employed in suppressing peaceable meetings publicly convened, for the discussion of national grievances in Ireland. In submitting this report, it was stated, that the requisition had already received the signatures of several of the aldermen, town councillors, and many other of the leading inhabitants of the town.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.
On this subject the following resolution was adopted:—

Resolved—"That the friends of complete suffrage, throughout the municipal boroughs, be again reminded of the approaching November elections; at which, it is of the utmost importance to put forward candidates who will pledge themselves to vote for petitions to parliament for the legislative adoption of our principles."

The Council then adjourned to Friday next, at eleven o'clock, when the form of an address, from constituents to their members, will be reported by the committee.

LECTURES IN LONDON.—On Tuesday evening a public meeting was held at the Three Tuns, High st, Borough, to advance the cause of complete suffrage. This was determined upon in consequence of Mr Spencer's unavoidable absence. Mr Samuel Green, baptist minister, presided, and addressed the meeting on the subject before them. He was followed by Mr Mirams, of Esher street chapel, Mr Jenkinson, and Mr Burnet, independent minister. The latter gentleman delivered a long and effective address, which we regret our limits will not allow us to report. The meeting was attended by a large number of electors. On Wednesday Mr Spencer lectured on complete suffrage at Lambeth; on Thursday at the Lowther rooms, Strand; and on Friday at Skinner street, Snow hill.

BRADFORD, YORKSHIRE.—On Monday, the 9th inst, Mr Beggs of Nottingham delivered a lecture to the members and friends of the Complete Suffrage association, in the Victoria rooms, Kirkgate. The audience was pretty good. Mr B. Walker occupied the chair. Of this lecture the *Bradford Observer* says—"Mr Beggs of Nottingham, who for a number of weeks past has been engaged in a *con amore* mission on behalf of the principle of complete suffrage, visited this town on Monday last, and delivered a lecture, a brief report of which will be found in another column. This gentleman is an able auxiliary of the complete suffragists. As a lecturer he has not the fervid, torrent-like eloquence of Mr Vincent; but he has qualities which are as likely to command success and carry conviction. There is a calm dignity about Mr Beggs. A person could not listen to him ten minutes without feeling convinced that he was thoroughly in earnest; and if listened to for half an hour, it would be found that to earnestness was added a complete mastery of his subject. Calm and dispassionate in his manner; clear and correct in his statements and arguments; there is withal a fervency about him, but it is the fervency of a strong, masculine mind, whose emotions are regulated and controlled by a vigorous and well-matured judgment.

LEEDS.—Mr Beggs, a gentleman well known for his labours in the cause of the people (more especially in the midland counties), says the *Leeds Times*, and who is now, as we stated a week or two ago, making a tour at his own expense, for the purpose of advancing the principles of complete suffrage, delivered an exceedingly interesting lecture on this subject, in the room of the Complete Suffrage association, in Kirkgate, on Wednesday evening last, before a crowded and respectable audience.—James Richardson, Esq., clerk of the peace for the borough of Leeds, was unanimously called to the chair, who, after expressing a wish that a more active member of the association had been called upon to preside, introduced Mr Beggs to the meeting. Mr Beggs then proceeded to expound the principles of complete suffrage in an eloquent and forcible manner, interspersed with sound and practical remarks on the policy of its friends. Towards the close of the lecture he said—

It was a characteristic of the English people, when comfortably bestowed, to leave the government to do as it liked, and this apathy, since the recent improvement in trade, was beginning to be apparent. He urged upon all the friends of complete suffrage principles to exert themselves in influencing the electors on behalf of their cause, for it was to the electors, after all, that they must look for success. He recommended the complete suffrage voters not to compromise their principles by voting for any man who was not willing to extend the franchise to the people. There was little to choose between the whigs and the tories—there was little to distinguish the one from the other—without it was the question of a fixed duty or a sliding scale. The whigs were prostrated as a party, and it was their interest to keep them so—nothing could more materially tend to injure their cause than to allow the whigs to obtain a respectable minority in the House of Commons. If, on the contrary, they were kept prostrated, out of the ruins of that party would spring up another favourable to the cause of the people. He concluded by anticipating, in imagination, the blessings, physical, intellectual, and moral, which he believed would result from the practical operation of their principles, in the legislature.

At the close of Mr Beggs's lecture, the Chairman inquired how it was possible to provide a sufficient number of candidates to contest the various boroughs in the kingdom, especially as the candidates, in great numbers of cases, must enter upon the contest with a certain prospect of defeat. Mr Beggs replied that one great object of his tour was to promote the establishment of election committees, whose object it would be to look out for candidates for the purpose. Two classes of candidates would be necessary. In those constituencies where there was a chance of success, they would endeavour to secure the return of such men as Col. Thompson, Mr Henry Vincent, &c. The other candidates (and, he trusted, the local committees would find men willing to stand for the purpose) would be brought forward with the view of bringing their principles before the electoral bodies on the day of nomination. From this policy the best results might ultimately be expected, as, in those

places where the experiment had been tried, the principles of complete suffrage had progressed beyond their most sanguine expectations.

MANCHESTER.—On Thursday evening the indefatigable Mr Beggs delivered a lecture on complete suffrage, at the Old Manor Court room, to a numerous and respectable audience. Mr P. T. Candelet occupied the chair. Mr Beggs's address was received by hearty applause; and at the close Mr Edward Watkin moved, and Mr Benson seconded, a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was unanimously agreed to. The grand *soirée* which is to be held in this town in honour of complete suffrage, is fixed for November 22nd. Mr T. Spencer of Bath, Dr Bowring, M.P., Joseph Brotherton, Esq., M.P., Colonel Thompson, Dr Epps, Mr Henry Vincent, Mr J. E. Giles, Mr John Collins, with others, have already promised to attend.

CHELTENHAM.—On the 9th inst, Mr R. K. Philip lectured in the New Temperance hall of this town, on "Political and Social Reform;" Mr Edward Wilks in the chair. In the course of his lecture Mr Philip said the aristocracy and the state priests combined together to keep up the present state of things: they were alike reckless of the moral or social welfare of the people. He witnessed on Sunday, at Worcester, an illustration of this fact. The Worcestershire cavalry were drilled and reviewed, and had a sermon preached to them in the cathedral; he attended that sermon, with the expectation of hearing the preacher point out to them their Christian duties, and the peace-making character of the founder and sole head of the Christian church. But what was his surprise to find that the preacher pandered to all the vices of war, and told them that the avocation of a soldier was an honourable one! He would adduce another instance of the indifference of the aristocracy to the condition of the people: a Mental Improvement society was founded in Bristol, of which he was secretary; he waited upon Alderman Daniel among others for pecuniary aid, when the reply he received was, "Oh no, the people know too much already; they are getting far too wise!" Yet these are the persons who have the hardihood to tell the people that they are ignorant, when they demand from them their political rights. A discussion afterwards took place between the lecturer and Mr Milsom, a chartist, who denounced the former for having left the ranks of the O'Connorites, and joined the Complete Suffrage Union. The meeting was concluded, says the *Cheltenham Free Press*, by announcing a preliminary meeting on Monday evening next, to consider the propriety of opening a public news room, and also to make arrangements for the purposed visit of Mr T. Spencer of Bath, who is shortly expected to lecture on complete suffrage in this town.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.—The complete suffrage *soirée*, we may remind our friends, will take place on Monday evening next, in the Music hall, Newcastle. A large attendance is anticipated, and Colonel Thompson, Mr Samuel Donkin, Mr Lawrence Heyworth, and other distinguished gentlemen, will be present. The hall, being forty feet broad by about eighty long, will accommodate a goodly company. At the further end, there will be a raised table for the strangers, at which three ladies will preside during tea. Four tables will be placed lengthwise, parallel with the sides of the room, and in addition to a platform table at the left-hand side as you enter, from which, after the social meal, the several speakers will address the company. The arrangements (as is usually the case where the ladies have a share in the management) are well-ordered and complete, and the meeting promises to be of no ordinary interest and enjoyment.—*Gateshead Observer*.

MR CRAWFORD'S LETTER.—The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to, at a meeting of the National association for promoting the political and social improvement of the people, on Tuesday evening last, the 10th inst.:—

"That this association cordially agrees in the proposed plans of parliamentary conduct, for the radical members of the House of Commons, which are set forth in the recent letter of W. Sharman Crawford, Esq., to the President of the Complete Suffrage association.

"That this association is of opinion that the suggestions of Mr Sharman Crawford require only sufficient determination, on the part of the radical members of the House, to enable them, a minority, to protect the people's rights against the power of a ministerial majority."

"That the secretary be directed to communicate these resolutions to Mr Sharman Crawford; and also to write to the radical members of the metropolis, on the part of the association, to press upon them the duty of co-operating in so desirable a plan."

The friends of complete suffrage in Markinch propose having a *soirée* in the early part of next month, at which several ministers and talented speakers from a distance are expected to attend.—*Fife Herald*.

O'CONNELL.—Daniel O'Connell was born on the 6th of August, 1775, at Carhen, near Caherciveen, in the barony of Averegh, and the county of Kerry. His father was Morgan O'Connell, of Carhen, Esq. His father's mother was of the family of O'Donoghue, or the black chiefs of their tribe. Mr O'Connell was educated on the continent, partly at Louvain, partly at St. Omers, and partly at Douay. On his return to Britain, he had to undergo the formality of studying his profession (the law) in England; for, to use his own words, "when he was prepared to enter Trinity college, Trinity college was not prepared to receive him." Having swallowed the regular number of legs of mutton at the Middle Temple, he was duly admitted to the Irish bar, in Easter term, 1796. Mr O'Connell married, on the 3rd of June, 1802, his relative, Mary, daughter of Edward O'Connell, M.D., of Tralee. He succeeded his father in 1809; and in 1825, by the death of his uncle, Maurice O'Connell, Esq., succeeded to the family estate of Derrynane. The O'Connell family are proverbial for living to a very old age.—*Limerick Reporter*.

sir,' was the reply. I then began to understand his meaning; and, as I encouraged him to speak out, he proceeded to say that there were eight millions of them, that the land was not able to bear them, that one or two millions might be spared with advantage, and the country would be for the survivors. I afterwards heard the same idea, either in whole or in part, in a variety of forms, but the burden of the song always was, 'protestant and catholic will freely fall, and the land will be for the survivors.'

Their commissariat also was arranged. Every man was to bring so many days' potatoes, and butter and bacon, if he could afford it.

If you spoke to them of the army, the remark commonly made was, 'But, sir, you forget that three-fourths of the army are Irishmen, and every Irishman is a repealer.'

If you spoke of the protestants of the North, the answer was, 'The presbyterian tenets will not stand by their landlords.'

[Yet the people say that they are not going to war; which is explained thus—]

They have unlimited faith in O'Connell's practical talents, and in his knowledge of the law. They are persuaded that he will not take any step which will be contrary to law. They looked forward to the assembly of the Three Hundred as the crisis on which the whole question depended. If the government interfered with the meeting of the Three Hundred, they considered that the first aggression would then decidedly be on the part of the government, and that was to be the signal for their rising. It has been carefully impressed upon them that they are not themselves to take the initiative, but that they are to leave the government to put itself in the wrong by making the first attack. It may also be observed that they never speak of their rising as an insurrection or rebellion, but that the term always used by them is 'going to war.'

Another "estate" of the people ripe for mischief is "the young men of Dublin," who supply all the good writing and much revolutionary poetry. In a further communication in Monday's *Chronicle*, the writer adduces some further facts, and indulges in speculations.

The most serious fact of all connected with the present agitation has yet to be mentioned. There cannot be a doubt, that the great body of the Roman catholic priests have gone into the movement in the worst, that is, in the rebellious sense. Many of the priests of the old school, who had been educated in France and had seen the world, held out for a time; but they were given to understand, that if they continued to take this line, the shepherd would be deserted by his flock, and they were forced to yield.

The primary object of the priests is, no doubt, to get the temporalities of the established church; but they have also a further object, which lies much nearer their heart, which is to make Ireland a catholic country. Everybody in the south of Ireland, both protestant and catholic, admits that if an insurrection were to succeed, the protestants must either conform or quit the country. O'Connell does his utmost to keep the religious character of the movement in the background.

Postscript.

Wednesday, Oct. 18th.

FRANCE.—The *Journal du Havre* states, that "some fifteen noble legitimatists, who occupied elevated situations in the household of Charles X., set out a few days since from France for London. It is said that the Duke de Bordeaux is about to form a royal household, and that he has summoned round him the principal adherents of his family. It is certain, moreover, that the journey of the Pretender to England, and the activity remarked in his correspondence with his adherents, are giving serious uneasiness to the cabinet of the Tuilleries."

SPAIN.—The following telegraphic despatch has been received:—

Perpignan, Oct. 15.

The fire between Barcelona and the forts continued on the 12th and 13th. A report was current at Barceloneta the day before yesterday that a popular committee had been appointed to watch the Junta.

Sanz was waiting for reinforcements at Gracia to attack the city.

Prim the day before yesterday suffered the women and children to quit Girona; he was to attack the town to-day at the latest."

Bayonne, Oct. 15.

On the 10th, the anniversary of the Queen's birthday was celebrated in Madrid. Her Majesty held a grand levee.

The Queen laid the first stone of the palace of the Cortes, and reviewed the troops of the garrison. Her Majesty was everywhere received with enthusiasm.

The city was illuminated.

Nothing new at Saragossa on the 9th."

Accounts from Madrid are of the 9th inst. They state that M. Aguilar, the minister of Spain in Lisbon, had been superseded. The government charged him with having evinced too much apathy in the diplomatic negotiations which led to the conclusion of a treaty of commerce between England and Portugal. Order had been restored at Granada and Almeria. The latter was occupied, on the 5th, without any opposition by the troops under Colonel de los Rios. General Concha arrived before Saragossa in the evening of the 5th. Troops were to leave the capital to reinforce the army of Aragon, where the insurgents, it appears, are not so much discouraged, nor so despicable, as described by the French telegraph. The *Espectador* states, that a corps of 6,000 men was already organised in Saragossa, and that the moment when double that number should be under arms, the centralists were determined to commence offensive operations in Castile. The *Constitutional* announces that the entire of Lampurdan had declared in favour of the central junta. The national guard of San Bandilio de Llobregat, Villanueva, and other places, had been disarmed by the government troops.

ITALY.—Advices from Leghorn, of the 6th inst., state that the military commission, sitting at Bologna, had already pronounced several sentences, none of which, however, had been carried into execution. An insurgent band had made its appearance near Ancona, and a report was ripe that serious attempts at insurrection had been made in Naples, Sicily, and the Abruzzi. The disturbances in the latter country had even assumed an alarming aspect.

COURT OF COMMON COUNCIL.—At a court held yesterday, the Lord Mayor was unanimously elected governor of the Irish society. The following resolutions were then passed with reference to Ireland:—

That this court deeply deplore the present disturbed state of Ireland, arising out of the many grievances of which that unfortunate country has cause to complain, amongst which are to be enumerated the great anomaly of a church establishment opposed to the religious wants and feelings of the people; the exclusion of more than seven-eighths of the community from a fair and equal share with their protestant brethren in all places of public trust, honour, and emolument, on account of their attachment to the religion of their fathers; and the severe hardships

inflicted on the tenantry by the system which the absentee landlords pursue, of entrusting the management of their estates to middlemen and jobbers. That this court earnestly recommend the adoption of conciliatory measures with a view to the redress of the grievances of Ireland, that the people may become happy, contented, and enterprising—that, instead of concentrating their means to obtain repeal, they may be convinced of the advantage of directing their energies to uphold the legislative union between the countries, as the surest guarantee for the peace and prosperity of the empire at large.

The Bread street Ward scrutiny was again proceeded with yesterday, and, at the close of the proceedings, Mr H. Hughes was in a majority of one. It was said that Mr Lawrence will resign to-day.

NEWCASTLE AND GATESHEAD COMPLETE SUFFRAGE SOIREE.—On Monday evening the suffragists of Newcastle and Gateshead held an important and most interesting *soiree*, in honour of the principles of complete suffrage. The attendance, including, as it did, a large proportion of electors and several distinguished friends of the cause, was very gratifying, and the proceedings well-calculated to advance the cause of political freedom. Having only received intelligence of it in the morning, we have not time nor space to insert more than this notice this week. Next week, however, we will give a full report.

IRELAND.

THE INFORMATIONS.—Mr O'Connell is charged with uttering violent and seditious language, at the Mullaghmast meeting, and inducing her Majesty's peaceable subjects to assemble and march in military array to the music of military bands. He is also charged with uttering violent and seditious language at the Mullaghmast dinner, and being a party to the illegal and inflammatory devices on the walls of the dining-room. The establishment of the arbitration courts, which are charged with being calculated to bring the law of the land, and its administration, into contempt, is also made matter of accusation against "the agitator." Tom Steele is charged with using seditious language, and libeling her Majesty's government in a speech delivered at the association, when he charged Peel and Wellington with bringing the Queen, and the Queen's name, into contempt, by compelling her Majesty to go to France in the capacity of her own ambassador. Dr Gray is to be prosecuted as chairman of the arbitration committee. The prosecution against Duffy will be a press prosecution. He is to be prosecuted, not for his connexion with the Repeal association, but in his capacity as a journalist, and for printing and circulating seditious publications. The Right Hon. R. Lalor Shiel has written to Mr O'Connell's solicitor, stating that "he would feel it his duty to act as counsel for Mr O'Connell at the approaching trial." The general opinion among legal men to-day is, that an indictment for conspiracy cannot be sustained.

REPEAL AND COMPLETE SUFFRAGE.

The tory press is strangely alarmed at what they call a new phase of the agitation, which developed itself on Monday, and violently attack Mr O'Connell for abandoning his pledges. The *Times* reporter says:—"Strictly speaking, repeal is abandoned; and Mr O'Connell has unblushingly forfeited his vantage ground, pitched his once formidable hobby to his old friends—'the wild winds of heaven,' and has quietly shrunk down from a whole repealer, and nothing else, into a mere driveling 'federalist.'"

The *Dublin Evening Mail* (government organ) says:—"And what is the demagogue's pretence for these altered councils? A communication, forsooth, from some popular English leader—a chartist, doubtless, or an anti-corn-law leaguer—that, provided he will co-operate with the English radicals to obtain universal suffrage and other popular rights, they will unite with him in seeking a federal parliament for Ireland. With this the great, the unconditional repealer, professed himself content—and, inasmuch as it will convince the hated Saxons that he seeks no dismemberment of the empire, it is rather the better of the two."

The cause of this outbreak is the speech of Mr O'Connell at the Repeal association on Monday, with reference to a letter from Mr Sturge, of Birmingham, offering the assistance of the National Complete Suffrage Union in procuring a local parliament, provided the Irish will assist in agitating for a full, fair, and free representation of the people.

It was generally expected at Dublin on Monday morning, that the Repeal Association would not be allowed to meet that day, but would be suppressed by proclamation. Such, however, was not the case, and long before the usual time of meeting, the Corn Exchange was crowded. Mr J. A. O'Neil, of Bemowen castle, was called to the chair. Shortly after which, Inspector Maher, of the metropolitan police, entered the room, and was accommodated with a seat at the reporters' table, on which he placed a notebook. In addressing the assembly Mr O'Neil said—

Two O'Connells had been stricken, and it never should be said that a third was smitten before an O'Neil stepped forward [cheers]. He should make no disrespectful allusion to the legal proceedings which the authorities had thought proper to take against certain individuals of the body, but by those proceedings he was not to be deterred from exercising his rights as a freeman [cheers]. That was the first time he had attended a political meeting, unless the House of Commons could be called one, and he had held back from being a repealer, not from any apathetic indifference to the welfare of his native country, but from motives of respect for the opinions of individuals to whom he formerly deferred, but from whom he now dissented.

He addressed the meeting at considerable length, on recent events.

Several sums were then handed in as subscriptions to the repeal rent.

Mr O'Connell then addressed the meeting. Having expressed the gratitude of the association to the chairman for the discourse with which he had honoured them, he proceeded to say that he would, at the conclusion of his remarks, move that their present chairman be requested to act as chairman on Mon-

day, at the meeting which should be held in the Conciliation hall, which would then be ready for that purpose [hear, hear]. He also promised that for the future he (Mr O'Connell), and he trusted the association also would give up the use of the word "Saxon," as it was calculated to give offence [hear, hear]. Mr O'Connell then came to the topic of the federal union—

In the corporation debate on repeal he had declared his willingness to accept a federal parliament, and instanced Canada, where such a parliament had done much good. Since then many persons had joined that association who went no further than a federal union, and he had lately received a letter from a gentleman of high distinction in England on the subject, in which his (Mr O'Connell's) attention was directed to two points, concerning which the writer believed it to be of the greatest importance that the people of England should have correct information before they would join generally or extensively with that association [hear, hear]. The first point was, that it should be shown to the people of England that Irishmen, in seeking for the restoration of a parliament to their country, sought not the dismemberment of the empire, but strove only to procure for themselves the management of their own local and internal affairs, leaving matters of national importance to both countries to be legislated upon by representatives from both countries in the imperial legislature. The next point was, that Englishmen should be satisfied that, as they co-operated with Irishmen, so Irishmen should assist Englishmen in their struggle to obtain a full, fair, and free representation [hear, hear]. He would meet such propositions in the spirit in which they were put forward, and he told that gentleman that, if a sufficient number of the English people came forward, there would be no difficulty in arranging repeal on the definite terms mentioned by him [hear]. Let him not be taunted with shrinking when he accepted these terms, for by doing so they not only took away all argument from their enemies, but merely followed a course to which the association was already pledged by the admission of the catholic Bishop of Killaloe and other gentlemen on the same terms [hear]. The hon. gentleman reiterated his strenuous exhortations to the people to be orderly and peaceable at considerable length, and stated that his recent address to the people had received the sanction of the association.

Mr O'Connell then read the following resolutions, agreed to at a meeting in Birmingham, in reference to repeal, accompanied by a note from Mr Sturge:—

DEAR FRIEND.—The endorsed was unanimously passed at a meeting at which I happened to be in the chair, last night, and at which, amongst others, ten of our town councillors were present. I think a more favourable state of public feeling, towards Ireland, never existed, if it could be turned to good account.

Very sincerely and respectfully,

JOSEPH STURGE.

That this meeting have learned with astonishment that the viceregal government have suppressed a meeting of the people of Ireland, convened to petition parliament for the redress of grievances, by the presence of an overwhelming force of cavalry, infantry, and armed police, and believing that if the executive succeed in abolishing the constitutional right of the Irish people to discuss their national affairs, the same course may, ere long, be pursued in this kingdom, the following requisition, to convene a public meeting of the inhabitants of Birmingham, for the purpose of petitioning the Crown on the subject, be agreed upon and adopted.

That this meeting desire to express their highest admiration of the conduct of Mr O'Connell and the Irish people for their magnanimity in not holding the intended meeting at Clontarf; seeing that, although even if the prohibition may not have been legally justified, yet that disastrous consequences might have otherwise ensued."

He was delighted at the co-operative and conciliatory spirit among the people of both countries, and would have it referred to the committee to answer that letter, and express their delight and gratification, at the same time, that they must procure for Ireland local legislation, and that there was a firm determination to persevere in the political course they had adopted, for as long as there remained one Irishman in the country, so long would his desire be for local legislation [hear, hear].

The Chairman said he never put a question with more pleasure than that the letter read should be inserted in the minutes by acclaim (loud cheers). It bore out fully his experience of twenty years of the noble gallant people of England (loud cheering).

Mr O'Connell then entered more explicitly into his sentiments with respect to a union with the friends of reform in England. He would tell them in England, that as soon as they formed a party strong enough to assist the Irish people, he would join them in obtaining federalisation [hear, hear]. He was ready to make a concession so as to find out a common point of unity [hear]. He concluded by moving that the committee do thank the men of Birmingham for the sympathy they had evinced towards Ireland, and also their readiness to aid them in their efforts to obtain for this country a local and resident legislature.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Some other business was transacted, and the rent for the week, £1,224 3s. 6d., being announced the association adjourned.

The *Times* of this morning, in a leading article on this new feature of repeal, says—

"Such is the plan for the present—a plan which the least whiff of circumstances may puff into the 'wild winds of heaven'—which the determination or indecision of government may render more audacious or more submissive—which may equally be defeated by the firmness of those who oppose it, or the timidity of those who encourage it; but a plan which, as it involves new elements and new combinations—as it exhibits the national and Gaelic sentiment of Ireland in alliance with the known democratic spirit of English discontent—no ministry should think beneath their notice, or unworthy of their most vigilant attention. Discordant as may be the elements—wild as may be the schemes—contemptible as may be the leaders of such an organisation, it needs but little erudition to know, that to despise it would be a sign of blind and unpardonable temerity. We have not yet seen the end of the Irish agitation."

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

The supply of English wheat is 3750 qrs; of foreign, 2910; of barley, 1010; oats, 4120. There is very little doing in the market.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"T. D." We must put some limit to our insertions of letters upon this subject. His would have been inserted had it arrived earlier in the week.

"H. M." Although sorely perplexed by the length of her letter (for we take the writer to be a lady), and somewhat in doubt of the persuasiveness of the tone adopted, and although she has mistaken reasonings which we stated to have been urged by others, and which we endeavoured to prove were not, even if valid, a bar to the claims of the working men, to have been put forward as our own, we shall endeavour to find room for her communication next week.

"J. Meadows." An abridged report of the affair appeared in the *Nonconformist* of last week.

"Senex" declined.

"J. S. Bakewell." We cannot get the instrumentality to work, unless we commence proceedings in some such way as we have recommended.

"R. J. P." will find our own views on this head detailed in an article, published with some others, in a separate pamphlet, entitled "Reconciliation," &c.

"Senex." The matter is too local to be further pursued.

"E. G. Williams." If we were to give insertion to his communication, we should be compelled to set apart two or three pages, for similar letters, every week.

"One who Pays Small Respect to Custom." Next week.

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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, OCT. 18, 1843.

SUMMARY.

IRELAND continues to be the chief topic of interest in the political world. Ministers have fairly commenced the work of suppression, and are pushing on, in the career of despotism, with extraordinary vigour. The proclamation against the Clontarf meeting has been followed by the institution of legal process against Mr O'Connell and several of his associates. The Liberator has been held to bail, himself in £1,000, and two sureties in £500 each, to answer to any proceedings which may be adopted against him on the first day of the November term. Several other prosecutions have been confidently talked of as determined upon by the government. The charges preferred against Mr O'Connell are such as it will be difficult to sustain by evidence. It is probable that no jury but a packed one will be found to convict him. Whatever may be the issue of the forthcoming trials, it will do little to brush aside the difficulties of the ministers. Meanwhile Mr O'Connell has issued a letter, calling upon the Irish people to repress all show of feeling, to abide within the limits of the law, and quietly to submit to all legal authority, or anything wearing even the semblance of it. The catholic priesthood, too, are employing their influence to soothe irritation, and to restrain excitement within peaceful bounds. The courts of arbitration continue to meet and adjudicate the differences between repealers. The Association was to have assembled yesterday morning, and our postscript will most probably contain a brief record of their proceedings. It is rumoured, indeed, that the meeting is to be prevented by force, in which case the fact will be palpable, that ministers have resolved to throw aside all constitutional restraints.

The city election will take place before the close of the present week. The writ has been proclaimed; Friday is fixed for the day of nomination, and Saturday for polling. Each party speaks confidently of success, and each is displaying the most energetic activity. Mr Jones Lloyd has given an impulse to the cause of free trade, by a letter to the Secretary of the League, in which he cordially recommends Mr Pattison as a suitable candidate; and, in proof of his own attachment to the doctrines of free trade, incloses a subscription to the League of £50. The city of London, however, is exposed to peculiarly corrupting influences, and it would be premature to speculate in a tone of certainty upon the probable result of the contest. At Kendal, the choice of a candidate has been confided to a committee of eighty-four electors, a large proportion of whom are understood to be quakers. These gentlemen, it is imagined, will object to the selection of Colonel Thompson, as being a member of the military profession. We hope not, for whatever may be the Colonel's abstract opinions on the subject of war, no man has given more efficient guarantees than he, for employing every available means, practically to abolish the evil. We suppose, however, that upon this subject some inquiry will be made at the hands of Colonel Thompson himself, and we doubt not of his being able to satisfy every reasonable scruple.

The revenue accounts have been published since our last, and indicate a slight improvement in trade, and in the condition of the people. The total increase of revenue on the year is £4,076,000, from which, if we deduct upwards of £1,000,000 in the shape of Sycee silver, and £5,052,000 for the income tax, it will leave a considerable deficiency in the ordinary sources of income. On the quarter, there is a total increase of £1,565,000; but on referring to the customs, we find a decrease of £414,000, to the post office, of £8,000, and to the miscellaneous, of £3,180. There is an increase in the excise, of £240,515; in the stamps, of £18,886; in the taxes, of £16,863; in the property tax, of £1,734,060; and in the crown lands, of £7,500. The improvement is but slight; but such as it is, it furnishes matter for congratulation and hope, save that as our income increases, the power of government to squander it in crusades against the liberty of the subject increases also. But for the indication which the revenue gives of the condition of the people, an empty exchequer would be a national blessing.

We beg to call attention to an address contained in another column, issued by an extraordinary Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union. It is a response to the letter of William Sharman Crawford, Esq.; and is designed to urge upon electors a vigorous support of that method of parliamentary agitation, so ably propounded by the member for Rochdale. It is clear, that nothing effectual can be done in the house of Commons, unless zealously supported by the electors beyond its walls; and we trust that no constituencies will content themselves with bringing their power to bear upon the proceedings of the House and the government, without taking care, at the same time, to put themselves into a state of readiness to return, at the next election, complete suffrage candidates.

MATTER VERSUS MIND.

THE ministerial plan for the pacification of Ireland is beginning to develop itself with fearful rapidity. It is of the old, common-place, aristocratic character—varying in no particular from ancient precedents—exhibiting neither originality nor adaptation to the novel features of the case. It unravels no difficulties, but, as of old, cuts them through. It alters no opinion, but merely seeks to drive it beneath the surface. It would cure disaffection by aggravating its causes—secure the union of the sister kingdom by exasperating in the one, every hostile feeling with which it regards the other—and, by treading under hoof men's dearest liberties, would bind in perpetual amity the weak to the strong. There is commotion in Ireland, but strangely enough it is all on one side. We have witnessed the most energetic preparations for war—but where is the foe?

"And there was mounting in hot haste; the steed, The mustering squadron, and the clattering car, Went pouring forward with impetuous speed, And swiftly forming in the ranks of war;"

but the opposing force is yet impalpable. Fortifications have been repaired—garrisons have been provisioned—powder magazines stored—barracks filled with troops. Every part of England has contributed its quota to the military occupation of Ireland—steam-boats crammed with soldiers, or laden with ammunition, have ploughed their way incessantly across St George's channel—cavalry, infantry, artillery, armed and disciplined constabulary, amounting in the aggregate to thirty thousand men, are now in the green isle, held in readiness for instant action. Proclamations appear in the *Gazette*—prosecutions for conspiracy are flying about and lighting upon the heads of leading citizens—many-tongued rumour threatens more serious evils—and government displays a hardihood of determination which seems intended to proclaim to all whom it may concern—"We shall proceed to extremities."

What is the meaning of this sudden outburst of energy? Does Ireland bristle from the Giant's causeway to Cape Clear with foreign bayonets? Not a single one is to be seen. Are its inhabitants arming, organising themselves for rebellion, and preparing to drive out of the island by overwhelming violence all who refuse to coincide with them in their views? Nothing of the sort. Do outrages against person and property become so numerous and so alarming as to outgrow the mastery of civil authorities, and to require the stronger and ruder arm of military force to put them down, and to restore society to internal quietude? Just the reverse. The peasantry have become sober—the gaols are comparatively untenanted—and life and property never was so secure from lawless encroachment. What, then, is the secret of this invasion of Ireland by British troops? It is this. The people of that land, under the guidance of a popular leader in whom they have unbounded confidence, are seeking the repeal of an act of parliament now forty-three years of age, by which act the legislatures of the two countries were incorporated into one. It is notorious that the passing of the statute in question was obtained by a most unscrupulous resort to fraud, corruption, and political profligacy. It is certain that its operation has increased the

evils of absenteeism. It is tolerably clear that whatever advantages it may have wrought out for the land-owning aristocracy, it has not done aught hitherto to ameliorate the condition of the Irish people. It may contain within it the germs of national prosperity, but, as yet, they have failed to develop themselves. Be it what it may, however, it is felt by Irishmen to be a grievance, requiring speedy removal. Accordingly, they have set themselves with earnestness to compass its repeal. They have met in thousands—in hundreds of thousands—with a view to exhibit their unanimity of purpose, but always unarmed. They have listened to speeches more or less convincing—and that done, they have peaceably dispersed. They have rigidly abstained from all show of violence. They have never trespassed beyond the limits of constitutional right. They have earnestly disclaimed all resort to illegal means for the attainment of their ends. But her Majesty's government have resolved that the law whose abrogation they seek shall keep its place in the statute book, and all attempts to procure its repeal shall be visited with punishment.

Now, it is surely not out of place to inquire by what legal authority peaceful effort to procure the repeal of an act of parliament is constituted a political crime. We had thought that liberty to meet in open assembly for the discussion of grievances, and to petition parliament, was one of those fundamental rights guaranteed to British subjects by laws quite as authoritative, and much more ancient, than the act of union. This right we have not yet learnt to be suspended upon the will of an executive government. We know not how or from what quarter the doctrine has crept into power, that, when her Majesty's ministers have declared against certain political changes, it becomes imperative upon all classes to cease agitation for effecting them. If, indeed, it be true for Ireland, it is equally true for England. If the executive may, by military force, suppress all peaceable movements against the act of union, it may, also, put a stop to all organisation for the repeal of the corn-laws—all discussion with a view to work out a parliamentary reform. The crime of the Irish people consists essentially in this—that they are labouring to obtain a constitutional annulment of an act of parliament, by which ministers have pledged themselves to abide. It is not pretended that they have broken the peace—it is only charged against them that they are seeking repeal. And, forasmuch as they have dared to do this, thirty thousand armed men are quartered upon them, and the leaders of this moral agitation are prosecuted for conspiracy. Opinion, then, is again put into the category of political offences. The right of public meeting is emphatically denied—the people of these realms are allowed to discuss their grievances only at the pleasure of the crown. Mind is to be held in check by matter. Every social, political, and moral security is to hold tenure from physical force, and to remain at the mercy of those who may happen to have command of the army. Men talk of popular governments as terminating invariably in military despotism. Let them cease their idle clamour—we are under a military despotism already.

We know well the specious pretences by which the abettors of oppression will endeavour to hide from us the naked fact that the present ministerial movement is a crusade against public opinion. The numbers who assembled at these "monster meetings" will be pleaded as a justification for their forcible suppression. But, do numbers alone constitute a meeting illegal? Twenty of them had been heretofore held, and not a single violation of public order had occurred. Not a vestige of ground was left upon which a fear of popular tumult could get a foot-hold. Vainly is it urged that the gathering of such unwieldy multitudes, being incompatible with free discussion, must have been intended solely for intimidation. The men were, in every instance, unarmed, and uniformly behaved themselves with marked decorum. There was a legitimate moral end to be gained by assembling themselves in such countless throngs. They thereby attracted attention—displayed unanimity—supplied fuel to their own enthusiasm—and threw around their proceedings an air of solemnity, importance, and nationality which, otherwise, they would have wanted. That the speeches addressed to these meetings were always such as would approve themselves to the judgment of intelligent men, is far from being maintained. Mr O'Connell's unceasing efforts to inflame Celt against Saxon we regard as worthy only of unmixed reprobation. But we must remark, that he cannot justly be accused of beginning the unseemly practice of stimulating into hatred race against race. He who now sits upon the woolsack first hurled defiance against the "aliens in blood, aliens in language, and aliens in religion;" and spiritual differences were long since fomented into causes for strife by the *Times*, which denounced as "surpliced ruffians" the catholic priesthood of Ireland. Mr O'Connell has been guilty of the bad taste of following infamous examples—and that government which pretends to be regarded as just, must not punish the culprits on the one side, and pro-

note them to power on the other. Is railing the exclusive right of the aristocracy? and having a monopoly of all things else, must they enjoy also the monopoly of insulting their fellow citizens?

No! there was no fear on the part of government that Mr O'Connell would lead on his followers to insurrectionary violence. The true reason of fear was, that, within the limits of peace, law, and order, he might eventually work out the solution of his problem. Ministers were more alarmed by the arbitration courts than by "monster meetings." Legal organisation appeared to them more formidable by far than lawless combination. Hence their sudden energy. Hence their proclamation against the Clontarf meeting, and their subsequent institution of prosecutions against Mr O'Connell and his most conspicuous associates.

Should they succeed in suppressing the repeal agitation, and in obtaining convictions in the forthcoming trials, they will possibly be encouraged to try their hands against the Anti-corn-law League and the National Complete Suffrage Union, and to put forth their might against Cobden and Bright, against Joseph Sturge, Colonel Thompson, and Henry Vincent. What is done successfully on the other side of the channel may be repeated on this. Public meetings, which the Duke of Wellington long since characterised as "farces," may come to be dealt with as such. And, assuredly, if the people of this country look on unmoved whilst constitutional efforts to obtain the repeal of an act of parliament are crushed by military force, they cannot complain when the same cup of bitterness shall be handed round to them, and themselves compelled to drink it to its very dregs. But will they witness this violation of the rights of the subject in Ireland without energetic and indignant remonstrance? We would fain hope not. Let them be up, then, in every town and district, and show to her Majesty's ministers that constitutional freedom in Great Britain, as in Ireland, can rally around it as many, and equally determined, supporters, as the followers of O'Connell.

POLICY OF THE SUFFRAGISTS.

No new objection to complete suffrage having been brought under our notice during the past week, and the present being a critical moment for every movement of a popular character, we may, not without impropriety, deviate from our prescribed routine, and devote ourselves to a careful consideration of the true policy of the suffragists. We must be understood, in this as in other instances, to give our opinion upon our sole responsibility. We are not about to suggest any detailed plan of agitation, nor to offer direct criticism upon any schemes which either are, or may be, laid before the public. But we think we may render some service to the cause, by laying down succinctly a few principles which may serve as practical tests wherewith to determine the wisdom of any line of agitation which may be proposed for adoption. The intrinsic worth of the doctrines we profess, renders not less, but more necessary, the utmost wariness lest our policy should be at fault; and it becomes imperative upon all sincere friends of political equality to sift, with jealous nicey, every plan by which it is sought to give to those doctrines ultimate legislative success. It may else happen that much energy will be misapplied, and that what might have proved the hour of victory will, to the sore disappointment of all, turn out to be the hour of defeat.

Unjust as the arrangement is, no complaints can alter the fact, that the supreme political power in this country resides ultimately with the electoral class. It rests with them to do, or to undo. They constitute the arbiters of the nation's destiny. What they resolve upon, none can eventually hinder—what they refuse, none can permanently bestow. The House of Commons is their creature. They make it what it is, and none but they can make it what it should be. True it is, that they are exposed to multitudinous and powerful influences, to do the bidding of the aristocracy rather than to embody their own opinions. Most true, that they are under strong temptations to act in direct opposition to their unbiased and matured judgments. But it still holds good, that what is done, is done by them. Others may be the tempters, but they are the agents. Neither monopolists nor anti-monopolists can reach their ends but through their instrumentality, and everybody knows that to win them is to win the cause at which we aim.

Such being the case, it follows that the practical wisdom of all modes of agitation must be judged of by their probable effects upon the electoral mind. It is quite certain that complete suffrage cannot be wrung from the hands of the present House of Commons. Were it possible, therefore, to bring the proceedings of that House to a dead-lock, and thereby to compel a dissolution—a course perfectly justifiable, if by such means the people could secure their ends—the policy of forcing matters to this extremity, must be tested by a reference to the state of the constituencies. The question is, whether they would eventually back up a minority in this course, by returning to the next parliament a working majority. If not, a

dissolution would do us no great service. Are we, then, prepared for a sudden dissolution? Can we bring our candidates into the field whenever it shall occur? Are the electors ready to carry out our views? Are they organised for instant action, and panting to achieve a victory? These are questions which we must satisfactorily answer to ourselves, ere we take steps to coerce the House of Commons. 'Tis plain we cannot drive them beyond a dissolution—but 'tis not yet plain that when we have pushed them to this point, we are a single step nearer to our object. The constituencies are either prepared to support our doctrines, or they are not. If they are, it is easily demonstrable, and the demonstration may be made to tell. If they are not, we might get rid of the present House, only to see the return of one as little or even less suited to our purpose.

It is quite clear, then, that our main business is with the electoral classes. Every legitimate influence which can be brought to bear upon them, and to affect their decision, is of value. For this reason, we admire the plan suggested by Mr Sharman Crawford, in his admirable letter to the President of the Complete Suffrage Union. Boldly, but at the same time prudently, carried out, it would constitute one of the cheapest, easiest, and most efficient modes of agitating constituencies. Plied with a view to overbear a parliamentary majority, it would fail, as a matter of course. Worked, however, for the purpose of putting the government clearly in the wrong, of exposing the wretched pretence of the present system, of securing frequent discussion of our principles, and, by such means, of reaching, through the medium of parliament, the understandings and the hearts of electors, it would, in our opinion, eminently and extensively succeed. The very activity and earnestness which it would denote, would do much to kindle the enthusiasm of constituents.

Our conclusion, then, is as follows, and herein we are but consistent with ourselves since first we took this subject under notice:—That policy is the true one for complete suffragists to adopt which, in its influence, will serve to inform the minds, to stir up the activities, to organise the strength, to register the claims, to secure the pledges, and to bring about the triumph, of electoral bodies. Nothing which falls short of, nothing which goes beyond, this, will do much to advance our cause. Other movements must be judged of according as they directly or indirectly further our progress amongst the constituencies. We cannot safely neglect them for any seemingly shorter career of agitation. This, duly attended to, will render all collateral efforts more vigorous and more successful. This, however, must constitute for us the centre of gravitation. Upon this the main stress of our hopes and expectations must rest. We have to gain the electors. We can do nothing effectually without them, and when once we secure them we secure all we want.

Nor ought the growing probability of the early occurrence of a general election to be thrown into the shade. Sir Robert Peel's policy in regard to Ireland will, in all likelihood, end in his discomfiture and retirement. A new ministry would require a new parliament. But if the next general election should catch complete suffragists in their present state of unpreparedness, what would be the subsequent position of their cause? It would sink into comparative oblivion for another indefinite period of time, and no industry could resuscitate it into life and vigour. Therefore we are above all things anxious to witness energy exhibited in this direction, and steady progress made in this, the most important, quarter. We are not insensible to the importance of bringing all proper force to bear upon the present House of Commons; but we estimate it solely by its probable effects upon electors, for they will be more competent and more willing to serve us than a corrupt and profigate parliament.

TREATY WITH AMERICA.—If we are not greatly misinformed, General Green has been some months in London, with powers to treat for a liberal commercial treaty between England and the United States: but our ministers keep him at arm's length, and do not even listen to the proposals which the General has to make, and which he understood from those same ministers, when he was last in England, that they would gladly receive.—*Leeds Mercury.*

DEFINITION OF ARMORIAL BEARINGS.—According to a recent decision, the impression of a thistle on a common pencil-case, with the motto "Dinna forget," are chargeable as armorial bearings when used, and subject the party to a duty of £2 8s.

REFUSAL TO ENROL THE RULES OF THE CHARTER.—Mr. Tidd Pratt, the certifying barrister, has refused to enrol the rules of the charter, passed at the late Birmingham conference, on the ground "that the objects of this society, as stated in the rules, are not within the provisions of 10 George IV., c. 56, as amended by 4 and 5 William IV., c. 40." In consequence of this refusal, the president, treasurer, and secretary have given notice that they will go on with their system of organization for the present, without the certification of the rules, and it is added that they will compel Mr. Pratt to certify, by a *mandamus* from the court of Queen's Bench.

EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

On this important subject, to which the public mind is more than ever aroused, a letter appears in the *Manchester Times*, by Mr. J. W. Massie, independent minister, containing valuable practical suggestions on the subject, which are well worthy of consideration and discussion. The substance of his proposals is as follows:—

"A full delineation of the measures which would facilitate an adequate and national provision for the permanent education of the people, would extend beyond these limits; we therefore satisfy ourselves with a bare outline of a progressive apparatus, and would begin at the foundation with primary schools, which should be established as extensively as possible. In some localities, where the harmony of minor sections, the co-operation of generous minds, and the limits of the population would warrant or require it, a combination should be sought for the establishment of schools on the plan of the British society or Sessional School models. But where practicable, the establishment of congregational week-day schools is greatly to be preferred, both as securing greater unity of operation and greater probability of continuance and efficient superintendence, and affording greater scope for the exercise of religious principle and the development of religious truth. The existing Sunday school rooms afford immediate facilities, and should as soon as possible be used for the purpose. More commodious and retired buildings, in connexion with each chapel, where ultimately necessary, can be erected as the measure of success will warrant the expenditure. These would serve as seminaries for the masses of the population, and might afford preparatory instruction for more aspiring pupils. But a secondary class of schools would be required, adapted to the wants of classes or individuals ambitious of higher degrees of education—for the children of a parentage able to defray higher charges, and who, though not able to pay the fees at present required in the more respectable seminaries, wish to see their children qualified to take situations in the same rank with themselves as clerks, tradesmen, overlookers, foremen, &c. These secondary schools might be rendered admirably subservient to the purpose of training and increasing the number of qualified schoolmasters, and be made to supply the place of more distant normal schools. To secure their permanency and efficiency, they should be located in central populous places, and, after erection, should be supported by their higher class of fees and reputation, without any exactions on the public either by voluntary contributions or taxation. Such institutions should be commenced without delay in populous towns like Manchester, Leeds, &c.

"As a stimulus to the improvement of the pupils, to meet the increase of population, and to conform our institutions with the growth of large towns, and the principles more fully developed in modern times, a yet higher order of seminaries seems required. Academic institutions on the model of the high schools at Edinburgh, and the preparatory schools of the London University college, the college at Huddersfield, &c., and, under the conduct of the best masters, should not only be contemplated, but brought into speedy and active operation in all our populous districts.

"It would be no unseasonable demand for the times and the position of this great empire, that the teachers in these academies should subordinate their instructions, to qualify their pupils for entrance on any collegiate course in the highest branches of literary pursuit, on a scale of charges which, while in no way derogatory to the child of the wealthiest and most reputable, would open the gates of such institutions to the ambition and reward of the humblest but provident and virtuous sons of toil:—

"Ah! who can tell how hard it is to climb
The steep where fame's proud temple shines afar;
Ah! who can tell how many a soul sublime
Has felt the influence of malignant star,
And waged with fortune an eternal war;
Check'd by the scoff of pride, by envy's frown,
And poverty's unconquerable bar,
In life's low vale remote has pined alone,
Then dropt into the grave, unpitied and unknown."

"A further stage, but an advance only in the right direction toward the full development of the national mind in the progress of education, will be the organisation of collegiate institutions contiguous to such towns as Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, &c., not for professional studies alone, but for the instruction of all who choose it, in every branch of literature, science, and philosophy. We have models for such institutions, with requisite modifications, in London University college, King's college, London, and some of the Scottish universities; providing, in professorships, lectures, and scholarships, in libraries, and private tutors, all the advantages of a university. Why should it be thought a thing presumptuous or unattainable that Manchester, and a surrounding population of eight hundred thousand, Leeds, and the dense masses of the West Riding of Yorkshire, or Liverpool, and its Cheshire borders, should possess their colleges, when St Andrew's or Aberdeen have the colleges which constitute their several universities, and serve to stimulate and reward the studious habits of farmers' and peasants' sons, or of laborious mechanics? We regard such institutions as not only desirable but as a necessary addition to the facilities required for universal and local education in every populous district like the places already named. But the completion of the circle will only be realised when these collegiate institutions shall be connected with a *Senatus Academicus*: and under the government of such a senate shall possess all the prerogatives of a chartered university; easily accessible, in all its honours and emoluments, to the inhabitants of each populous locality. The clouds of learned bigotry are passing away, the mountainous ruggednesses and the crooked subtleties of religious intolerance and domination, which stood in the way of equal freedom and the liberty of prophesying or teaching, must soon subside or be swept away; and the hypocrisy of university monopolies and sectarian exclusiveness will not be much longer able to veil the absurdity and folly which has shut dissenters out of the national universities: and it would ill become a party which professes to bring the olive branch bound up with the birchen rod, which, with prayers and tears, would solemnly beseech a people to merge differences and unite in a compulsory system of education, that the nation may be instructed, to withstand such progressive and voluntary efforts and sacrifices, or to withhold the crown and reward of literary success and learned proficiency.

"But the primary processes need not be suspended till the further stages be secured; the people can work

where even a dominant party cannot effectually impede their progress. There is an organisation of the community for other purposes, whether among congregationalists, methodists, or baptists; and they have modes of co-operation which may most conveniently be rendered available, and which should promptly and energetically be embraced for educational processes or the diffusion of knowledge, of a right spirit, and co-operation in completing the instruction of the people. Denominational and county associations, formed for fraternal counsel and the promotion of kindred objects—congregational or local resources, originated by bequest, or voluntarily and periodically contributed—afford legitimate ground for expectation, and promise efficient succour in such attempts. There is no occasion to suspend proceedings till aggregate meetings can be convened, or national subscriptions can be obtained. It is not necessary to postpone operations till buildings can be erected, or funds secured to guarantee against a large expenditure in the purchase of property. This may be a course required for the national society, or diocesan boards. But where Sunday school rooms exist, and the affairs of a chapel are subject to the management of the congregation which worships in it, preliminary measures may, and ought to be, instantly commenced. The more extensive and complicated organisations will thus have wider scope for experimental inquiries, and be warranted to anticipate effectual support and co-operation; while, by these means, discussions, resolutions, and appeals, will find access, through the organs of the press, to the various sections of the people, and to the nation at large."

The letter also contains suggestions relative to the meeting of the Congregational union at Leeds, many of which have been acted upon. While so much attention is being justly directed to future operations for the extension of education, it is singular that the disinterested and indefatigable exertions of Mr R. S. Bayley, F.A.S., independent minister, of Sheffield, should have excited so little interest among the friends of enlightenment. We have before us the first annual report of the students of the People's college, established in Sheffield, August, 1842, by that gentleman, from which we gather the following interesting particulars. The People's college was formed for the purpose of providing education "for youth of both sexes above the age of thirteen; by which he proposed to form a number of morning and evening classes to receive instruction in every department of an English, and in the rudiments of a classical, education." The plan met with but a lukewarm reception from the wealthy friends of education in Sheffield. Mr Bayley, however, persevered, and formed about twenty classes, to meet at half-past six in the morning, and seven in the evening. The plan succeeded; and, at the close of the first year, the report tells us—"Though the institution owes nothing to patronage, it is in a more vigorous state than ever; its classes are better attended, and the methods of instruction pursued in each have much more of the popular and permanent character than it was possible to exhibit at first." The following quotations from the report will be found to be interesting:—

"Of the labours of Mr Bayley, we scarcely know how to speak without injustice or apparent adulmentation. The People's college has now about thirty classes in operation, the entire conduct of which, with the exception of the drawing, the singing, and the French, is dependent on his own exertions. During the year he has traveled between three and four thousand miles to and from the institution; he has presided at nearly 1,500 sittings of the classes; and though they have required no special preparation from him at present, they have demanded promptitude and the utmost simplification of truth, and its presentation in the most attractive form—requirements which we all know to be much more difficult than the mere communication of any amount of knowledge."

"The experiment of the People's college has been made under every disadvantage. Unsuitable rooms, want of a library, and various educational necessities, as maps, &c.; and, above all, by the want of any fund to retain those valuable students who have been compelled to quit the People's college by the state of trade. £50 would have enabled our principal to have retained almost as many students who were among the best that have entered; and, with such a sum, the mathematical, the logic, the composition, the Latin, and Greek classes would have probably been double their present number.

"We shall be forgiven for adding the extreme pleasure that we have felt in the female class of the people's college. As we feel that we are almost more interested in their elevation of mind and character than the females themselves, we cannot but rejoice to think, that many in the class who have nobly resisted the temptations to neglect their education, are quite as capable as ourselves to have been examined on the present occasion; and neither they nor we can ever be the persons again, that we should probably have continued through life, but for the establishment of the People's college.

"We cannot terminate this brief report without expressing the earnest hope of the students, that people's colleges will, at no distant day, be opened in all our large towns. No other institution of which we can conceive, is so adapted to the young people of both sexes. The simplicity, extent, and cheapness of the plan, its independence of the state, and of party influence, make it an admirable means for developing the juvenescent mind of the community.

"We are convinced that the country contains many gentlemen who, when properly instructed by our principal in the system, might establish a people's college in other districts. And we are confident that the almost entirely self-supporting character of the institution, will secure their conductors from dependence on capricious patronage, and not leave them without reward.

"If one people's college were established in each of the 100 large towns in England, with an average of 200 students each, 20,000 of the most valuable of the population would thus have an opportunity of becoming well educated."

Weekly lectures have been given by the principal and others; once a quarter excursions have been made by the students to objects of public interest in the neighbourhood, and three *soirées* had been held to

promote a fraternal feeling among them. The report concludes:—

"We anticipate with pleasure the results of a second year, which must of course be inconceivably greater than they are now, if Providence should continue the life and health of our principal; and especially if he should obtain more sympathy from such as are not otherwise able to promote the welfare of the youth of this town, than by the contribution of an insignificant portion of their wealth to promote a really popular education."

"By parents, masters, religious teachers, philanthropists, and the general advocates of education, we cannot think this opportunity of advancing the good of the next generation will be neglected."

"We boldly appeal to those who know us, whether we have been in any sense injured by our attendance at the people's college; and we must be the best judges of the benefits which we have received. We cannot also but feel delighted with the recollection that, out of more than 300 students, who have been more or less connected with us in the P.C., the Principal has in no one instance been under the necessity of applying those rules of discipline, which the institution provides, for cases of disorder—a fact which we sincerely hope will always be repeated in subsequent years. And it is from the consciousness of the good that we have received that we earnestly invite such young men and women as feel with us that, next to religion, education is the greatest power and honour of man in the present life, to join the classes."

Such have been the not less gratifying than astonishing results of the untiring exertions of Mr Bayley in the cause of education. Amid the increasing attention which the cause of popular education, thanks to the introduction of the Factories' bill, is exciting among all classes, it should not be forgotten that Sheffield presents to the country a noble example of what may be done for the education of the people, by the active zeal, untiring perseverance, and personal efforts of one individual. If but a tithe of this anxiety is displayed by the public in general, we need have no fear for the cause of education.

CHARACTER OF THE HARVEST.—The last *Banker's Circular* says,—"We are thoroughly convinced that the general yield of the wheat crop throughout England will be found a very deficient one, and that no important section of it will produce a quantity equal to that of last year, except in cases where the wheat crop was then a deficient one, or in cases where there is a larger proportionate breadth of wheat grown."

The Rev. Thomas Dale, vicar of St. Bride's, is to have the canonry of St. Paul's, vacant by the death of Mr Tate.—*Standard*.

THE CHELSEA PENSIONERS AND THE REPEAL OF THE UNION.—On Saturday the following notice was posted up at the various government offices, and in the city:—"Notice to the out-pensioners of her Majesty's Royal hospital at Chelsea:—The Lords and other commissioners of Chelsea hospital having had their attention called to the conduct of certain out-pensioners, who had attended meetings held for the purpose of effecting a repeal of the legislative union with Ireland by intimidation and a display of large numbers collected together, feel it to be their duty to caution all pensioners against attending or countenancing any such meetings. Any pensioners who may attend such meetings after this notice will be liable to the loss of their pensions. By order of the Lords and other commissioners, Richard Neave, secretary and registrar.—Royal hospital, Chelsea, Oct. 14."

Mr Henry L. Bulwer, who has been now for several years Secretary to the Embassy at the court of France, has been appointed to succeed Mr Aston as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Madrid.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.—A return has been delivered by the parliamentary paper office (which was ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 24th August, 1843), comprising some useful and various statistics of the electoral constituency of the United Kingdom. The summaries of England and Wales, respectively, are stated as given "exclusive of the islands in the British seas, of the army and navy abroad, &c., and of persons ascertained to have been traveling by railways and canals, on the night of the 6th June, 1841." The summaries show the following results, namely:—

ENGLAND. Total of Population.
40 counties, returning 144 members, population 9,115,611; 187 cities and boroughs, returning 323 members, population 5,879,527; 2 universities, returning 4 members, population 14,995,138

WALES.
12 counties, 15 members, 680,147 population; 56 cities, boroughs, and contributory boroughs, returning 14 members, 231,450 population. 911,608

England and Wales, together (exclusive of army and navy abroad, &c., &c., as above) 15,906,741

IRELAND.
32 counties, 64 members, 7,370,533 population; 6 cities, 10 members, 477,945 population; 3 towns, 4 members, 61,150 population; 24 boroughs, 25 members, 285,610 population. 8,175,238

SCOTLAND.
30 counties, 30 members, 1,657,985 population; 76 cities, burghs, and contributory burghs, 23 members, 962,199 population. 2,620,148

Grand total. 26,702,163

METROPOLITAN.

CITY ELECTION.

MEETING AT COVENT GARDEN THEATRE.—On Thursday evening an immense meeting of the friends of free trade and of the Anti-corn-law League took place at Covent Garden theatre, for the purpose of impressing upon the electors of London the propriety of supporting, at the ensuing election for the City, the advocate of free trade principles, in the person of Mr Pattison. The great mass of the audience consisted of electors of London, and the greatest enthusiasm was manifested by them throughout the meeting. Shortly after seven o'clock the Hon. Mr Villiers (who presided), and the gentlemen who usually take an active part in the proceedings of the Anti-corn-law League, made their appearance upon the stage. The chairman addressed the meeting in a long and powerful speech, in which he urged the electors to support Mr Pattison. Mr Cobden next presented himself, and was received with loud cheers, waving of hats, and other demonstrations of regard. He commenced by expressing his regret that that spacious building was not able to accommodate all who were anxious to be present at that meeting [hear, hear]. They came there to ask the electors of London whether they would give their votes in favour of monopoly, or in support of free trade?

No writer of any eminence, upon the interests of a nation, but admits the principle advocated by the friends of free trade—nay, they had lived to see the day when statesmen, who presided over the destinies of this great country, fully admitted the principle also, but who basely threw it overboard, in order that a contrary principle might be carried into practice [hear]. The only difference between Mr Baring and Mr Pattison was, that one expresses his determination to carry out what he avows, while the other refuses to do so [hear, hear]. Now, what he was there to ask was this—did they admit the truth of the principles advocated by the free trade party? If they did, could they doubt which of the candidates they would adopt at the ensuing election [hear, hear]? Their chairman had told them that the principles advocated by the friends of free trade were admitted by those who practically opposed them to be correct in the abstract. Correct in the abstract! Did they ever hear of a father telling his child that the ten commandments were good in the abstract [laughter]? Did they ever hear at the Old Bailey of a thief, charged with felony, making use of this expression—"It is true I have stolen the handkerchief in the abstract" [laughter]? If monopolies were an abstraction, then he would have done with Mr Baring and this election. But when it presented itself in a substantial form, and took from the people portion of the sugar which they used in their tea or coffee, and a slice from their loaves, then he would say that it was no abstraction [laughter, and "Hear, hear"].

He ably exposed the slavery cry in reference to the admission of slave-grown sugar.

There was a Brazilian ambassador in this country, he understood, desirous of arranging a treaty of commerce. On asking for it, he could fancy with what a grave and pious face the president of the board of Trade would observe—"But we can't receive your slave-grown sugar." Well, perhaps, the Brazilian ambassador was a clever personage. Foreigners contrive to send clever people here on such errands [laugh]. He would answer—"We wish to deal with you, what have you got that we can purchase?" "Why, we have some excellent cotton goods." "Oh, cotton goods! Where do you get the cotton from?" "Why, chiefly from America." "From America; is the cotton free or slave grown?" [immense cheering]. He would leave them to picture the countenance of the president of the board of Trade [cheers and laughter]. If any of those he addressed had had their sympathies entrapped, or their feelings bamboozled by this talk about slave-grown sugar, let them know that those very people who thus talked, imported slave-grown sugar, not for the English, but to be refined and then exported, by those very persons, to Russia, India, Turkey, to populations amounting to 500,000,000 [hear]. And yet those very persons would not have slave-grown sugar for the English. Why? Because the 12,000,000 here were—what the 500,000,000 were not—the slaves of the sugar-hogshead oligarchy. Because they have, or had—only wait a week—power over the people here. Oh, the hypocrisy of those men! The Mahometans had different gradations of punishments in their religion; the lowest was assigned to the hypocrites [hear]. He should not wonder when the Turks heard of Mr Baring's speech, and of the speeches of the House of Commons, if they were to offer up prayers for those hypocrites [laughter]. And now, in 1843, they were called upon to sanction, under the pretext of resisting slave-grown sugar, the imposition of an additional 2ls. on every hogshead of sugar costing 2ls., and all for the benefit of the dirty, mean, base, sugar-hogshead oligarchy [hear]. He had so described them before; he now repeated the description. If such a state of things could continue—if such a power could last—he declared that he would rather be the subject of Mehmet Ali than knuckle down to such a base, and sordid, and dirty oligarchy as that of the sugar-hogshead [loud and distinct rounds of applause].

In conclusion, Mr Cobden said, London was one of the largest constituencies in the kingdom, and there were many needy voters in it; and he would like to warn those who were likely to be tampered. They might be told that it would be all right if they would let it be till after the election; but he would tell them that there would be no time when it would be all right; for at no time must they take head money or treat money safely. It was one of the bright objects of the Corn-law League to take that course at this election, to prosecute every one against whom could be proved the act of offering, or of giving, or of receiving a bribe. In the next place, it was the intention of the League to offer a reward of £100 for such evidence as should lead to the conviction of such parties as were charged with such acts. Every one ought to know that, if he offers to vote for a sum of money, he is guilty of an indictable offence; and if any one offers money he is liable to be indicted. Messrs Bright and Fox afterwards addressed the meeting, and were most warmly applauded.

The interest in this election increases as the critical period approaches. Both parties are unremitting in their canvass. The League have issued a proclamation, offering £100 reward for a conviction for bribery; and the tory party have put out an announcement, giving directions that no refreshments shall be allowed by innkeepers to the agents of Mr Baring at his expense. Meetings in the various wards have been held, at which Mr Pattison and Mr Baring have severally addressed their friends.

We learn that Mr Samuel Jones Lloyd, the eminent banker and political economist, has signified his adhesion to the Anti-corn-law League in a letter to the council, accompanied by a subscription of £50, and that a cheque for the same amount has been forwarded by Mr Raikes Currie. This step of Mr Lloyd's is considered in the city as a favourable omen for the cause of Mr Pattison, and of free trade throughout England. It is said that, with an argument of this nature, the committee and active supporters of Mr Pattison may walk over the ground. The state of the canvass returns far exceeds the anticipations of the most sanguine; and, if the committee relax not their exertions, they may already look upon their candidate as member for the city of London.—*Observer*.

The nomination is to take place on Friday, and the polling on Saturday.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

BACHELOR OF ARTS EXAMINATION, Oct. 1843.

First Division.

Bagshawe, William H. Gunning	St Mary's, Oscott
Baynes, Joseph Ash	Stepney
Blackett, Charles	Stonyhurst
Bradley, Samuel	Manchester
Brady, Francis William	University
Champion, William James	University
Chalton, John Mcon	Highbury
Crowley, Alfred	University
Edkins, Joseph (Coward college)	University
Field, Horace	University
Gowring, George James	University
Green, Samuel Gosnell	Stepney
Jessel, George	University
Jessel, Henry	University
Lewis, Bunnell	University
Mott, Albert	University
Roscoe, William Caldwell	University
Smith, James	University
Stratten, John Remington	University
Wills, William Ridout	University
Woolrych, Humphry FitzRoy	King's

Second Division.

Bankart, Frederick Fowler	University
Browne, John (Coward college)	University
Carr, John Rodham	Manchester
Marten, Robert Humphrey	Stepney
Millard, James Henry	Stepney
Sibly, Thomas	Bristol
Taylor, Russell Scott	Manchester

ALDERMAN GIBBS AND THE PARISH ESTATES.—On Thursday another meeting of the parishioners was held at the parish church, in reference to the non-production of the accounts of Alderman Gibbs. There was a large attendance, and the proceedings excited much interest. The Rev. Dr Croly was not present, nor did he make his appearance during the course of the proceedings. Mr Pearce, the vestry clerk, was also absent. Mr Rock took the chair on the present occasion. Mr Howitt addressed the meeting at considerable length, condemnatory of the conduct of Alderman Gibbs, and expressive of his hope that the parishioners never would let Alderman Gibbs be quiet until he had accounted for the money he had received during the last nineteen years, amounting to £23,719 19s. 6d., besides other rates, amount unknown, which had been collected without the authority of the vestry. As Alderman Gibbs was not present, nor any person or communication on his behalf, the meeting came to the following resolution:—"That a committee be appointed to wait upon Alderman Gibbs once more, to request the account from his hands, and at the same time to inquire whether the insurance of the church has been effected, in compliance with the resolution passed at the vestry meeting on September 28." On Friday application was made, at the Mansion house, by Mr Rock, solicitor, for a summons, calling on the churchwardens of the parish of St Stephen's, Walbrook, to answer the complaint of Mr Rock, for not permitting him to inspect the books of account relating to the parish monies and property, which were by that act directed to be kept in all parishes. Alderman Johnson finally decided that the accounts must be personally demanded from Alderman Gibbs before the issue of a summons. The matter was ordered to stand over for that purpose.

COLONEL STODDART AND CAPTAIN CONOLLY.—A meeting was held at the Hanover square rooms, on Wednesday, to take leave of Dr Wolff on his departure for Bokhara, to ascertain the fate of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. General Sir J. Bryant presided. It was stated that the subscription amounted to £300. Dr Wolff announced his intention of departing this day; and said that he should endeavour to procure the release of the son of Mr Steele, of Exeter, and the brother of Mr Balfour, of Aberdeen, who were also detained captives in Bokhara. Thanks were voted to the Doctor, to Captain Grover, who had been active in the matter, and to the chairman. The Oriental Steam Navigation company offered Dr Wolff his passage to Constantinople for half the usual fare. He started on Saturday.

LONDON PEACE SOCIETY.—THE TOWER HAMLETS.—The second of a succession of meetings, in the

borough of the Tower Hamlets, was held on Friday, October 13th, 1843, in Ebenezer chapel, Shadwell. In the absence of Mr C. Hyatt, the senior minister of the chapel, who was prevented, by indisposition, from being present, Mr George Evans, minister, took the chair. Two resolutions were unanimously adopted, expressing approbation of the principle of the society—"That war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and the true interests of mankind." At the close of the meeting, thirty-eight persons signed a declaration of their concurrence in the above sentiment. The meeting was addressed by the Chairman; Mr D. G. Pain, of Barnet; Mr John Harris, of Wapping; Mr Wm H. Black, of Goodman's fields; Mr John Jefferson, independent minister, of Stoke Newington, one of the secretaries of the Peace society; and the Rev. George Benjamin Utter, of New York.

Quarterly average of the weekly liabilities and assets of the Bank of England, from the 15th of July to the 7th of October, 1843:

LIABILITIES.	ASSETS.
Circulation .. £19,561,000	Securities .. £22,193,000
Deposits .. 11,466,000	Bullion .. 12,078,000
	£31,027,000
	£34,271,000

OUTCASTS.—The park-keepers and the police have recently brought several young girls to Marlborough street, who were found sleeping beneath the trees in Hyde park and Kensington gardens. These girls have been, without exception, in a state of dreadful disease and destitution, and the sitting magistrate, as the most humane course, has sent them to prison, where they are sure to find not only shelter but medical attendance. From the statements of the park-keepers, it appears there is an average number of fifty persons of both sexes and all ages who have no other shelter by night than what the trees and hollows in the embankments afford. The majority of these are young girls, between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, most of whom have been brought up from the country by the soldiers, debauched, and then abandoned to a horrible fate. These unhappy creatures, at so early a period of life, may be found in the situation of complete outcasts, huddled together at night in the parks, and literally rotting from want, filth, and disease. At this moment, there are many men and girls whose faces are quite familiar to the park-keepers from the time they have thus existed. One poor fellow, a Spanish refugee, has been there for months; and, judging from his winter preparation of old matting and straw in a hollow part of one of the pits, he appears to contemplate spending many months in the same locality.

SINGULAR SCENE.—An unpleasant "scene" between the Lord Mayor and the Recorder occurred on Wednesday. The Lord Mayor sat as judge on the scrutiny into the votes for alderman in Bread street ward, and the Recorder sat as his assessor. John Lupton, who had voted for Mr Lawrence, was objected to, on the ground that he had not been a freeman for twelve months, having in fact been admitted on the 14th September. The Lord Mayor thought that, as Mr Lupton had not paid his scot nor borne his lot, he could not be considered a qualified freeman. The Recorder differed; and the Lord Mayor wished to adjourn the case, in order to a private conference with his assessor. The following is the account of the altercation that ensued:

The Recorder, who had turned his back to the Lord Mayor, observed, that he was ready to deliver his judgment.—The Lord Mayor thought that as the Recorder was his assessor in that court, he could scarcely deliver a judgment; he should, however, be glad to hear his assessor's opinion.—The Recorder: Sitting here and exercising my high judicial functions, I certainly shall do my duty to those who have put me here.—The Lord Mayor: I put you here; you are my assessor.—The Recorder: I shall be glad to hear your questions, and will give your lordship my opinion on any question you think you can decorously put to me.—The Lord Mayor: I think the point a very important one, and I wish to hear your opinion in private before I give my decision. I conscientiously think my view is right, and I cannot decide against my conscience [loud cries of "Hear, hear"].—Counsel suggested that it would be better to adjourn, and the Lord Mayor also pressed for an adjournment.—The Recorder: I don't think it right to adjourn; I am ready to give my opinion at once.—The Lord Mayor: And I, the presiding officer, will maturely consider this most important question [renewed cheers from all parts of the hall]. Mr Sergeant Bompas again expressed an opinion that it would be more graceful to adjourn.—The Lord Mayor: I wish to adjourn. My opinion is that the voter should be a *bona fide* freeman, a householder, paying scot and bearing lot for twelve months previous to the vacancy. I don't think that a man should vote who was only made free for the purposes of the election [loud and protracted cheers].—The Recorder: Is that your decision?—The Lord Mayor: That is my opinion [renewed cheers]; not my decision. I am anxious to consider it in consultation with the Recorder, my assessor, out of court.

The Recorder, however, insisted that his opinion should be given publicly, and that upon matters of law it ought to be received as a decision. He is represented as exhibiting a great deal of warmth, sometimes turning his back upon the chief magistrate. The decision was adjourned; but next day, having in the mean time consulted the attorney-general, the Lord Mayor gave his decision in favour of the vote. Up to Monday night Mr Hughes had the advantage over his opponent.

THE PAVOUR'S DOG.—Every one will remember the firemen's dog, which for many years was the constant attendant at a fire, let the distance have been ever so great. Another instance, equally extraordinary, of the devotedness of one of the canine species, to another occupation, may be daily witnessed in the neighbourhood of the Borough. The commissioners of pavements of the eastern division of Southwark, keep a number of men constantly employed in the parishes of Bermondsey, St John's, St Thomas's, St Olave's, &c., and wherever they are will be seen a brown terrier running about the works they are engaged on, and never leaving till they leave. No one knows where he comes from, where he sleeps, or how he obtains his food, except what he gets from the men, whose strange companion he

has thus been for no less than eight years. He goes regularly to the stone yard near the Greenwich railway, about five in the morning in summer, but later in winter, and waits till the men go to their work. But if he should have missed them in any way, he proceeds over the district till he meets with them, and then takes his station by a barrow. No other dog dare approach the spot, or a biped the clothes of the men. When the labour is over he goes away, but no one knows where. As a matter of course, he is a great favourite among the men, and from Mr Hall, the superintendent, having made his peculiarities known, he has become much noticed.

A MOTHER AND TWO CHILDREN BURNT.—At two o'clock on Wednesday morning the densely-inhabited neighbourhood of St Martin's court, St Martin's lane, was greatly alarmed by the outbreak of a fire, which was attended with the loss of three lives, on the premises of Mr James Labram, a boot and shoemaker in an extensive way of business. The first intimation of the fire was given by the police constable on duty. Mr Labram and his family escaped at the windows, and by scrambling along the leads got in at the windows of the house of Mr Batsford, the comb-maker, adjoining. In the upper part of the house were Mr and Mrs Pollock, who with their two children and Mrs Pollock's brother, lodged on the second floor. As soon as they were made aware of their danger Mr Pollock and his brother-in-law got out upon the roof, in order to ascertain the best means of effecting an escape with Mrs Pollock and the children, but in the meantime the fire had made such rapid progress that the bed room was already enveloped in the flames, and they could not get back; although they were horrified by hearing the heart-rending screams of the poor mother and her children for assistance, which it was impossible for them even to attempt without sharing the same fate which awaited them. Before the engines could arrive the houses of Mr King, and of Mr Akerman and Mr Dalton, on the opposite side, had all taken fire, and were burning with a rapidity which threatened the destruction of the whole court. The flames spread right across from one side to the other, forming one burning mass, and were not got under until five o'clock. In addition to the lives already lost, it is feared that a fourth death may follow; as a little boy, the son of Mr King, in attempting to get along the leads to the next house, rolled off upon the pavement, and received rather serious injuries. He at present lies at Charing-cross hospital in a somewhat dangerous state. Nothing whatever is known as to the origin of the fire. Most of the property was insured. An inquest on the bodies of the sufferers was held on Thursday and Friday, when the following verdict was returned:—"That the deceased persons lost their lives in a fire which is supposed to have originated on the premises of Mr Labram; and the jury cannot separate without expressing regret that means have not been adopted to widen St Martin's court, one of the greatest thoroughfares in London, instead of allowing it to remain in its present narrow and dangerous state, as a similar occurrence might be attended with more fearful consequences."

PROVINCIAL.

REPRESENTATION OF KENDAL.—A general meeting of the liberal electors of this borough was held on Wednesday evening last, in the Odd Fellows' hall, for the purpose of deciding upon the course to be pursued by the constituency in filling up the vacancy occasioned by the death of G. W. Wood, Esq. The attendance on the occasion was large, and the feeling of the meeting was excellent. The resolutions which we subjoin were passed without a dissentient voice. T. Bindloss, Esq., occupied the chair.

RESOLUTIONS.

"1. That this meeting deeply deplores the recent melancholy death of George William Wood, Esq., the respected representative in parliament of this borough, whose zeal, integrity, and attention to business—public and local—and whose parliamentary exertions had secured for him the esteem and attachment of all classes of his constituents.

"2. That it is desirable to unite all classes of reformers in securing the return of a representative, who, by his character, attainments, and habits of business, would be likely to prove an honest and efficient member of the legislature, and an uncompromising advocate of the abolition of the corn laws, and of all other monopolies calculated to fetter trade and commerce, and who will give his earnest and unqualified support to all sound measures of practical reform.

"3. That in furtherance of the object set forth in the foregoing resolution, a committee shall be now appointed to investigate the claims, character, and principles of candidates, to watch over the interests of the liberal electors, and to present a report of their proceedings to a general meeting to be convened for that purpose. All questions arising in such committee to be determined by ballot. And that the following gentlemen constitute such committee." [84 gentlemen were elected.]

The first meeting of the committee was held on Thursday evening, when the names of several gentlemen were introduced, and it was agreed to send to each a copy of a series of questions on what may be considered the leading political questions of the day. The committee will have another meeting to receive and deliberate upon the answers which may be received, previously to any candidate being put in nomination.—*Kendal Mercury*.

ESSEX AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.—On Wednesday the annual meeting of this society was held at Colchester, with the usual show of cattle, &c., and was followed by a dinner. The president for the year, Mr J. Bawtree, said, he "had no pretensions to be a prophet, if so, he should predict that, at no very distant period, agriculture would be left to stand upon its own legs—that the adventitious protection which is now derived from legislative enactments would be withdrawn; and, therefore, the question for the farmers was, How should they be best prepared to meet that trying crisis [loud cheers]?" He thought it would be at once admitted that their sole consideration must be to make up for the deficiency in the value of agricultural produce by increasing the amount of production [hear, and cheers]. He

thought nothing was more calculated to contribute to that end than agricultural societies like those existing through the country." Sir H. Smyth, however, was not content with this view of the case, but launched forth in wholesale abuse of Mr Cobden—

"He did not like to differ from him in anything, because he was a good farmer, and was possessed of a sound judgment, but with respect to the government protection being withdrawn from agriculture, he (Sir G. H. Smyth) could not believe in such a monstrosity. [Laughter and loud cheers]. It never could be done [renewed cheers]. Why, there was a farce played at Colchester when Mr Cobden came; he did not speak to the purpose, and so it was considered by every farmer present [cheers]. He, however, managed to get a majority in his favour; but he should like to ask them—as men acquainted with the world—whether in a mob of people there were not twenty blackguards to one gentleman [loud laughter and cheers]. That was the case that day. He did not stand there to argue the question of free trade in corn, but he stood forward to denounce Mr Cobden as a revolutionary spouter [tremendous cheers]—a man who came down to sow dissension amongst them—to attempt to make the farmer quarrel with his landlord, and the labourer with his master [loud cheers]—and to throw the church into ridicule. But he meant to say—and no one knew it better than himself from his personal acquaintance with the farmers of the neighbourhood—that there was not a solvent farmer—there was not a respectable tradesman in Colchester who held up his hand for Mr Cobden [loud cheers]. Let not his friends be frightened because Mr Cobden carried his resolutions in different parts of the country; they could not suppose that would influence the House of Commons on the question; and no one but a demagogue, and who had sinister motives, would stand up in the House in its favour [cheers]."

He advised the farmers to lay out their money upon their farms, but was met with cries of "Oh, oh," which induced him somewhat to alter his tone. Mr Fisher Hobbs, as one of the committee, said, "he was aware that a spirit of improvement was abroad; much was said about the tenant farmers doing more; he agreed they might do more; the soil of the country was capable of greater production—if he said one-fourth more he should be within compass. But it could not be done by the tenant farmer alone; they must have confidence [loud cheers]. It must be done by leases [renewed cheers]—by draining, by extending the lands—that was by knocking down the hedge-rows, and clearing away the trees which now sheltered the corn."

SUDSBURY BRIBERY COMMISSION.—On Wednesday last, the proceedings of a commission of inquiry into the practice of bribery in the borough of Sudsbury, commenced at the town hall, in that borough, before Russell Gurney, Esq., John Buckle, Esq., and George Percy Elliot, Esq., the commissioners appointed for the purpose under an act of parliament passed last session. The hall was very fully attended.

COMMERCIAL REFORM.—Mr M'Gregor arrived in Manchester on Monday last, and during his stay in that town was the guest of Mr H. Ashworth, of the Oaks, near Bolton. On Tuesday, Mr M'Gregor paid a visit to the Manchester Chamber of commerce, when he was addressed on behalf of the directors by their vice president, who briefly dwelt upon the necessity of sound commercial principles obtaining practical adoption, and besides pointed allusions to our restrictive policy in corn, sugar, and other essential comforts of life, he claimed a total exemption from duty for cotton wool and other raw materials, whereon our labour and capital are largely employed. Mr M'Gregor very fully entered into the enlarged views which he entertains of our commercial policy and legislation. Protective duties he would for ever annihilate, and would only permit customs' taxes for revenue purposes. He would greatly simplify our whole fiscal system, and from ten sources he would raise the entire revenue of the country. (To this last proposition we may at a more convenient time refer in detail.) His reception at the chamber was most gratifying, and the directors were highly delighted with his exposition. Mr M'Gregor has distinctly stated, that he is only responsible for his opinions in his private and not in his official capacity.—*Manchester Guardian*.

MESSRS CONDEN AND BRIGHT AT DONCASTER.—These gentlemen left town on Friday, and proceeded to Wentworth house, the seat of the Earl of Fitzwilliam, where they stopped for the night. On the following day a numerous open air meeting was held at Doncaster, to hear addresses from Messrs Cobden and Bright. A considerable number of farmers were present. Among the company who addressed the meeting were Messrs Cobden, Bright, W. B. Wrightson, Esq., M.P.; J. W. Childers, Esq., M.P.; and Earl Fitzwilliam. The latter nobleman spoke only against the present sliding scale, and said nothing respecting his own opinions as to the desirableness of a fixed duty. He moved a vote of thanks to the anti-corn-law deputation. A free trade resolution was carried almost unanimously.

THE MILITARY.—A report prevailed on Tuesday in Knutsford and other towns in Cheshire, that the yeomanry cavalry of that county were to be immediately called out for permanent duty in Manchester. The 70th infantry, about 800 men, arrived here on Thursday by the Manchester and Birmingham railway, from Portsmouth, via Weedon. The regiment, which is under the command of Lieut-colonel Kellsall, still remains in barracks in Regent road, but is expected to leave to-day for Dublin.—*Ibid.*

CLOSING SHOPS, ROCHDALE.—We are very much gratified to perceive that the drapers of this town have imbibed a small sprinkling of the spirit of the times. Actuated by motives the most ennobling, the most philanthropic, and Christian, they (emulating the example of their fellow tradesmen in London, Manchester, and elsewhere) have commenced closing their respective establishments at eight o'clock, and we do most sincerely hope that the various trades in the town will adopt so good and so praiseworthy a course, and that soon the hours of application to business will be restricted yet more and more throughout the length and breadth of our country—for we cannot, we dare not, close our eyes to the fact, that on the rising generation, on the youth of

our land, depends our future weal or woe; to them we look for our continued greatness as a nation; on them we rely for our increasing prosperity as a people; consequently we cannot but rejoice that by the above arrangement, more time will be accorded to our youth (some of whom even now shine as stars in the mental horizon of no common magnitude), so that they may store their thinking and intellectual faculties, and thus be enabled to secure and maintain their proper position in civil and religious society. And while we are penning these remarks, we would make a respectful, yet urgent, appeal to the inhabitants of Rochdale and its neighbourhood. Go early to make your purchases; do not by procrastination encroach upon the time allotted and held sacred for physical relaxation and mental cultivation.—*Manchester Times*.

PUNCH AND LORD BROUGHAM.—An odd sort of accident occurred at the Coventry station of the London and Birmingham Railway a few days ago, when the Lord Brougham, in passing along the line, stepped out of the carriage "just to stretch his legs," and the opportunity was immediately turned to account by some wicked wag, or else a simple vendor of cheap literature, who, "thinking no harm," put into his lordship's hand the current number of *Punch*. Somehow or other, fate seemed to have decreed a most mischievous coincidence; for that very identical *Punch* contained the cutting and sarcastic portrait of his lordship, in the character of "the Great Wizard of the North," performing his celebrated trick of pouring four different liquids from one bottle, and embellished with other characteristic emblems of rat—windmill—turn-coat—Jim Crow, &c. This was too much for his lordship's endurance and philosophy; and though we are not aware that he made any actual outbreak on the spot, we understand that he afterwards represented his ease "to the proper authorities," who have in consequence ordered and determined that *Punch* shall henceforward no more appear at the railway station, as long as Lord Brougham is Lord Brougham.—*Coventry Herald*.

STATE OF SOUTH WALES.

A public meeting at Llechryd, three miles from Cardigan, was held on Monday, to vote a loyal address to the Queen, to pledge those assembled to aid in preserving the peace, and to petition for consideration of local grievances, all of which was duly ratified by the meeting. One local grievance at Llechryd is the fishing weir across the river Tivy, which is said to prevent the ascent of fish in the river. It was stated that Mr Gower held the weir on a repairing lease for £55 a year; but he was willing to give it up, and the owner, Mr Lloyd, was willing to sell it for £500, half its value. The chairman suggested a subscription to purchase it in the spring, offering, if £400 were collected, to make up the rest. The suggestion was well received, and the chairman, Mr Lloyd, and Mr Gower, were drawn home in the carriage by the people.

Another such meeting was held on Tuesday, at Cefn-y-Coed-yr-Allwyd, with similar result. One of the speakers, a Welsh farmer, remarked that Rebecca was everywhere; why? because Rebecca was Poverty, and the way to kill her was to give the people bread and redress their grievances.

The Welsh special commission was issued and forwarded from London on Monday. It nominates Mr Baron Parke, Mr Baron Gurney, and Mr Justice Creswell, as the presiding judges. The trials will take place in Glamorganshire, at Cardiff; it having been considered advisable to try the prisoners at a distance from the county which has been the chief scene of the disturbances. The judges are to meet on the 25th instant. Mr Baron Parke, however, will not be present.

Of the improved state of the country the *Times* reporter, in his Saturday's communication, says:—"It is difficult to hazard a speculation on the probable termination of the present lawless state of the county. I am inclined, however, to think, from all I hear, that public feeling (keeping pace with the concessions which have been made in the removal of toll gates, the lowering of rents and tithes, and the decidedly modified tone and more considerate demeanour of the magistrates and gentry) is gradually settling down into a calmer and more satisfied state. I am quite aware that a startling incendiary fire occasionally occurs, but the people generally no longer express by their looks or their language an approval of the outrage, but are startled by it and condemn it. In fact, I am convinced that public feeling is gradually changing for the better, and will do so unless some act of folly on the part of the authorities sets every wild passion at liberty again."

The same authority says, "The announcement by Dr Bowring of his intention to move for a parliamentary inquiry appears to have had a considerable effect upon persons in this neighbourhood, and to meet with general approval; indeed, at the meeting on the mountain on Friday, it was received with complete enthusiasm, and it has been since gaining ground everywhere. With a view of eliciting the opinions of persons generally upon the subject, I have remarked that a commission of inquiry had already been appointed by her Majesty, and have been answered, that such a commission would be very well, if it instituted a full, impartial, and searching inquiry into all the grievances, but that they fear it will not do so."

A commission has been appointed by the Queen, "for inquiring into the present state of the laws, as administered in South Wales, which regulate the turnpike roads; and also into the circumstances which have led to the recent acts of violence and outrage in certain districts of that country."

DRUGGING INFANTS.—On Saturday evening last a young mother was deprived of two young children

by the culpable, and indeed criminal, conduct of a servant. Mrs Rogers of Carmarthen, wife of a commercial traveler, being engaged in the shop, had intrusted her two infant female children, one eighteen and the other four months old, to her two female domestics, and in the course of the night was much alarmed by one of them being in strong convulsions, and the other in a dying state. In the course of the night both the children died. An inquest was held on their bodies before Mr E. G. Powell, coroner, on Monday, in the Guildhall, when it came out in evidence, and on the confession of Ellen Griffith, that she had purchased a pennyworth of laudanum from Mr Williams, druggist, of Bridge street, nearly the whole of which she had given to the oldest infant, and had given the rinsings of the bottle to the youngest. The jury returned a verdict of "Manslaughter against Ellen Griffith," and she was committed to the county gaol, under the coroner's warrant, to await her trial at the next assizes. One druggist made the degrading confession that he generally dispensed laudanum to fifty or sixty servant girls on a Saturday night.—*Chester Chronicle*.

THREE PERSONS DROWNED.—It is our painful duty to record one of the most painful circumstances that has ever come under our notice. On Sunday last, Mrs Anderson (the affectionate wife of Mr Walter Anderson, farming steward to the Duke of Bedford, at Oakley), accompanied by Mr Thomas Inskip, formerly of Marston, Miss Inskip, his sister, and a young pupil of Mr Anderson's, named Booker, attended the morning service at Stevington church. After the service, the party proceeded towards Oakley; and, on reaching the river Ouse, which divides Stevington from Oakley parish, they got into the boat and ferried nearly across. The wind was very fresh, and the waves became so rough that they were unable to land; they, therefore, determined upon returning to the Stevington side. Before, however, they could reach the bank again, the water rushed into the boat at the stern, and it went down; the unfortunate persons in it being thrown into the river, and, before any assistance could be rendered, three of them were drowned. The young man, Booker, with great difficulty, succeeded in reaching the bank, and ran for assistance. After a considerable time had elapsed, the bodies were recovered, but life was then extinct. The distressing scene that occurred upon the melancholy intelligence being conveyed to Mr Anderson's house can be readily conceived by those who knew how much the parties were respected.—*Herts Reformer*.

ALARMING ACCIDENT TO SIR HENRY WILMOT, BART.—A serious accident befell Sir Henry Wilmot, of Chaddesden hall, near Derby, on Wednesday evening last. On his return home from Swarkestone, where he had been presiding at the dinner in connexion with the South Derbyshire Agricultural meeting, it appears that he fell from his horse into a ditch, whence he shortly afterwards was extricated, apparently in a lifeless state. On examination, the right collar bone was discovered to be fractured; there was a wound near the right hip, several scratches upon his face, blood flowed from the right ear, and no doubt there is concussion of the brain. Sir Henry continued speechless during the whole night, and, the symptoms being alarming, the worst consequences were anticipated. In the morning, however, there were indications of returning reason, and some time afterwards Sir Henry was conscious of his state, and spoke; but at noon there was a relapse, and the unfortunate baronet continued in a precarious state until five o'clock, when he was somewhat better again, but, we regret to add, far from being out of danger. On Thursday evening the medical gentlemen pronounced him "a little better," and said "there was yet reason to hope."

The methodist new connexion chapel, top of Long row, Belper, was on Tuesday morning destroyed by fire. It is the almost unanimous opinion that it was the work of an incendiary.—*Derby Mercury*.

ATTEMPT TO SET FIRE TO A COTTON MILL AT BOLTON.—During the night of Friday last, a diabolical attempt was made to set fire to the cotton mill of Messrs Ainsworth and Crompton, in Foundry street, Little Bolton. It appears that the villains had thrown a piece of burning cotton waste through the ventilator of one of the lower windows, where it had burnt away without doing any damage. On the previous day a quantity of cotton was lying at the place where the fire was thrown; but it had fortunately been removed before the mill was closed, and thus the intention of the parties was frustrated. We understand there have been two or three attempts of the kind within a very short period. A reward of £50 has been offered for information against the parties.—*Manchester Guardian*.

SCOTLAND.

"PURITY" OF ELECTION!—The *Scotch Reformers' Gazette* calls the attention of its readers to the extraordinary account disclosed before a jury of Glasgow, a few days ago, in the action wherein John Smith, innkeeper, at Hamilton, was plaintiff or pursuer, and W. Baird, Esq., present M.P. for the Falkirk district of Burghs, was defendant. The action was brought "for payment of £121 18s. 6d., as the price of 100 bottles of wine, 135 gills of brandy, 528 gills of whiskey, 14 dozen of London porter, 10 dozen of ale, 25 dozen of ginger beer, 5 dozen of lemonade, 12 dozen of soda water, and 343 dinners and checks, &c., furnished to the voters in the interest of the defendant in the town of Hamilton, at the last parliamentary election." We know not which of the parties sufficiently to admire—the effrontery of the pursuer in bringing such an action, or the coolness of the defendant in resisting it. But the action itself,

nd the evidence by which it was supported, sufficiently develops the base and unworthy means by which, at the last election, one of the most honest, talented, and intrepid members that ever was returned from Scotland to the house of Commons since the passing of the Reform bill—viz., Mr. Gillon, of Wallhouse, was turned out of his seat. For be it observed, in a constituency at Hamilton, amounting only to 121 persons who voted for Mr. Baird, they swallowed, as this plaintiff's bill exhibited to a jury now certifies, the inordinate and disgraceful quantity of 135 gills of brandy, besides 528 gills of whiskey, &c., on the election day, which proves that some of them must have been worse than brute beasts on that occasion, and utterly unfit to exercise the franchise committed to them.

REBECCA IN FIFE.—On Sabbath night or Monday morning, during the absence of the inmates, the toll-house at the back of the town of Anstruther was attacked, all the windows smashed to pieces, and the bar carried away. Whether this outrage was perpetrated on the "principle" of Rebeccaism, or on some other, remains to be solved by the county police.—*Fife Herald*.

FETE IN HONOUR OF BURNS'S SONS.—The fete on the banks of the Doon, in honour of the family of the poet Burns, suggested by the return to this country of Colonel Burns, the second son of the poet, after a residence of thirty years in India, has been all but fixed to come off in the spring of next year. It was at one time thought that so joyous a jubilee could not take place too soon; but the western meeting intervening, brings the season to that brittle stage of weather that could not be calculated upon, particularly for an out-door festival. We have heard the right hon. the Earl of Eglinton hinted as chairman, and Professor Wilson as croupier.—*Ayr Advertiser*.

PERILOUS POSITION OF A STEAMER.—The *Glasgow Herald* narrates the following providential escape of the British Queen steamer:

The steamer left the Broomielaw, with passengers for Greenock and Helensburgh, about four o'clock on Wednesday, and although the weather was very wild, made her passage down the river to Greenock in less than two hours. She lay at the quay about ten minutes, and was with difficulty got away from it, from the freshness and fury with which the north-east wind blew upon the harbour. Upon leaving the quay, the vessel, which is iron built, was found to strike twice or thrice, but this created little notice at the moment, and she made her way across the Firth in the teeth of the wind, until she was about a mile out, and nearly opposite the buoy at the tail of the bank. At this moment, the captain got the alarming intimation that the water was rushing in by a leak in the stern, with such rapidity that it would in a very short period prove fatal to the vessel. He immediately gave orders to put her about for Greenock, which was fortunately effected, although with the greatest difficulty, the exertions of no fewer than four men being necessary to manage the helm. To the fact that the vessel obeyed the helm may be attributed the preservation of the lives of all on board. The British Queen ran for the shore with all her steam-power, but the leak increased so rapidly that she was found to be settling fast by the stern, and though the pump was worked, it had no more effect in reducing the rush of water than the attempt of Dame Partington to sweep out the Atlantic. On one or two occasions the vessel gave such lurches that it was feared she had gone on her beam-ends, but fortunately she righted, and was forced along by the power of her steam. The bell was rung furiously as a signal for help, but from the wildness of the night, and its deepening darkness, there was not a soul to be seen on the land or the waters, and it seemed at one time not improbable that many of our townsmen, who were passengers, along with the crew, would perish within hail of the quays of Greenock. The water had covered the floor of the cabin; it was fizzing in and extinguishing the fires, and the engine was ceasing to play; but fortunately the vessel had sufficient way upon her to reach the West dock, where she was run aground—and thus the crew and passengers were saved from almost certain destruction. The steamer speedily sank by the stern, leaving her fore part only uncovered by the water.

FOREIGN.

FRANCE.

The Paris journals are for the most part filled with comments on the fortifications of Paris, and the proceedings of the Irish government against repeal.

On the former subject, the *Courier Français* says:—"The rapidity with which the fortifications of Paris are being completed, is prodigious. Public works are not executed quickly in France, and some of our monuments have required more than a quarter of a century to be constructed. Railroads, which would circulate life through the different parts of the French territory, are adjourned *sine die*, and, instead of a complete system of railroads, we possess but a few branches without importance. Our canals are deplorably slow in their formation, and the most of those voted in 1821 are not entirely finished. Our ports are becoming filled with sand, and have waited years for indispensable repairs. Our roads demand incessant improvement, and our government, which is aware of the wants of our manufactures and commerce, will not depart from its proverbial habit of procrastination. All the activity of the administration has been expended on the fortifications of Paris. It appears that they are the essential work of the age, and that, Paris once surrounded by walls, France will have nothing more to demand. Two or three years have been sufficient to complete this immense enterprise—to surround the seat of government with a girdle of bastions, and of mounds of earth extending over a circumference of 28,000 yards, and protected by twenty citadels."

On the latter topic, the general opinion of the French press is, that the repeal agitation was increased by the coercive measures of government.

The *Débats* cries out against the Irish and their leader as very cowardly for not resisting at once, and having a battle with the troops. The French journal sees a want of courage in Mr. O'Connell's standing up to forbid that meeting in obedience to the law. Surely a moment's reflection must have suggested, that it required very great courage in a popular leader thus to stem the current of his own party, and force it back within the bounds of quietness and order, risking all the obloquy and misapprehension, and these very outcries of cowardice which have burst from the tories, and the effect of which must

be to obstruct Mr. O'Connell's future efforts for peace. The *Presse* is surprised to find that the tory papers should be so savage as to desire a collision, which their outcries against Mr. O'Connell's prudence, as cowardice, evince. The *National* observes, that the onslaught upon Ireland was not made till Queen Victoria had secured Louis Philippe's neutrality by the visit to Eu. The *Constitutionnel* thinks that Lord de Grey and Sir E. Sugden have "extricated Mr. O'Connell from all his difficulties," by their proclamation.

The Duke d'Aumale left Paris for Italy on Saturday. The Prince will proceed thence to Sicily and Constantina. He is accompanied by an aide-de-camp and his private secretary, M. Cuvillier Fleury, who will leave his Royal Highness at Palermo. The Duke de Montpensier, the King's fourth son, was quite recovered from his late indisposition.

The *Bien Public*, a journal published at Macon, under the auspices of M. de Lamartine, contains an article "from the pen of its illustrious editor," indicative of the points on which the opposition intend making their stand next session of the chambers. After condemning in strong terms the subserviency to ministers of the chamber of deputies, which had only in two instances, during fourteen years, evinced anything like independence (now in the discussion on the hereditary peerage, and the grant of an appanage to one of the King's sons), he upbraids "the dynasty of July" with its selfish and retrograde tendencies, and says, that should it advance a few steps more in the fatal course which it now pursues, the country would be justified in addressing to its chief those words of a wise chancellor to Henry III:—"Sire, you are no longer the King of France, you are the King of the League." This tendency of royalty to isolate itself, and seek support from a faction whose interests are at variance with those of the nation, M. de Lamartine proposes to check by parliamentary reform, and the extension of the electoral suffrage to all members of the liberal professions, who, not paying 200f. taxes, are denied that privilege. This and the fortifications of Paris are the two questions to which M. de Lamartine principally directs the attention of his colleagues of the opposition. The armament of the "bastilles" should, in his opinion, be strenuously resisted. "The prerogatives of the nation," he says, "should be as sacred for us as those of the crown, and the nation would forfeit its prerogatives the moment the guns of the forts should be pointed towards Paris. The entire opposition has fortunately come to a perfect understanding on that question, and if a few of the 132 conservative voters who opposed the Fortifications bill should join the opposition, as there is every reason to expect, victory is certain."

SPAIN.

Accounts from Madrid of the 8th inst state that the most alarming reports have been in circulation during the preceding three days. The troops had been continually kept under arms. It was said that tranquillity would be disturbed on the 7th, the anniversary of the defeat sustained by the Christinos in 1841, but all the military precautions adopted by General Narvaez proved superfluous. The day passed over without any seditious demonstration.

The ministry were neglecting nothing to insure that the opening of the session should take place on the 15th instant. Circular letters had been sent round to all the deputies, calling upon them to repair forthwith to Madrid, to enable the Congress to be constituted with the least possible delay. The session is to be opened by a simple ordinance, without any speech from the throne. The cabinet considered that a speech would necessarily be followed by the presentation and discussion of an address, and was anxious to avoid all obstacle or procrastination to the proclamation of the majority of the Queen. "Each minister will confine himself to lay before the cortes an *exposé* of his administration since the installation of the provisional government," we are told, "and the chambers, once constituted, will proceed to declare the Queen of age."

The elections were almost everywhere terminated. Barcelona and Girona had made no returns; those of the Balearic and Canary islands had not yet arrived; and Burgos, Lerida, and Salamanca, will have to proceed with new elections.

According to ministerial calculations, out of 187 deputies elected, there were thirty whose opinions were not known, sixty moderados, between sixty and seventy belonging to the progresista faction, represented by Messrs Olozaga and Cortina, thirty Francisquistas, centralists, republicans, &c. The chamber, composed of 249 members, seldom reckoned more than 180 present, so that the parliamentary party flattered itself with obtaining a considerable majority.

The *Times* correspondent states that the parliamentary party will not number more than 125 members in the chamber of deputies, and, "after disposing of the majority question, which will be voted with only eight or ten dissentient voices, that party will split again into progresistas and moderados, and leave the cabinet in a minority on all other questions."

At Saragossa matters remained almost in the same state. The negotiations opened by the Captain-general were proceeding. General Concha had been sent to take the command of the forces in that district.

Disturbances had taken place at Almeira and Granada, but were suppressed.

Nothing decisive had occurred at Barcelona. The latest telegraphic despatch states:—

"Perpignan, Oct. 12.

"On the 9th the junta invited all foreigners to quit Barcelona, allowing them only a delay of twenty hours. On the 10th the departure of the French, and their embarkation, took place

without accident. The consul took up his residence at Barcelonetta.

"On the same day the batteries of the insurgents and of the forts occupied by the troops of the army, fired the usual salute on the occasion of the Queen's birthday.

"Commander Martell, having been closely pursued by the population, surrendered at discretion to the Commander of Tortosa.

"The advanced guard at the gate of France, at Girona, had deserted to General Prim, with its captain."

Miscellaneous.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT FOR MURDER.—A parliamentary paper has been published, which affords additional reason for doubting whether capital punishments have the effect of diminishing the frequency of the crime of murder. The first table in the paper is very gratifying, as showing the diminution of the crime in England and Wales since the year 1812:—

		Committed.	Executed.
Six years ending December, 1818	444	122	
" " " 1824	407	91	
" " " 1830	411	75	
" " " 1836	413	74	
" " " 1842	351	50	

The second table gives four years in which all persons convicted of murder were executed, and shows that in the years immediately following there was an increase of 12.9 per cent. in the commitments for the crime; and it also gives four years in which the smallest proportion of those convicted for murder were executed, and shows that in the years immediately following there was a decrease of 17.1 per cent. in the commitments for the crime. This is just the reverse of what might have been expected, if capital punishments were effectual in deterring from the commission of murder.

POPULATION RETURNS.—The results of the census of 1841 for England and Scotland have just been issued in three pretty thick folio volumes. The following are the general results:—ENGLAND.—The population of England (exclusive of Wales), by the census, was 14,995,438. Among 1,000 individuals of this population, on an average, there were—

Born in the county where they live	807
Born in other counties	159
Born in Scotland (59,907 males, and 42,158 females)	6
Born in Ireland (148,151 males, and 135,977 females)	19
Foreigners, and British subjects born in foreign parts (24,323 males, and 14,305 females)	2
Not specified where born (107,251 of both sexes)	7

1,000

It thus appears that the population of England in 1841 comprised 102,000 persons born in Scotland, and 284,000 born in Ireland. The returns for Wales show 1,173 persons born in Scotland, and 5,275 born in England. Even if we add to these classes one-third of those who did not specify their native country, the number of immigrants from Scotland and Ireland is 25 in 1,000 or 2.5 per cent., a smaller number than many supposed.—SCOTLAND.—Population 2,620,184. Among 1,000 individuals of this population there were—

Born in the same county in which they live	759
Born in other counties	172
Born in England (18,562 males, and 19,234 females)	14
Born in Ireland (66,502 males, and 59,819 females)	48
Foreigners, and British subjects born in foreign parts	1
Not specified	6

1,000

It hence appears that there were in Scotland, in 1841, 37,000 natives of England, and no less than 126,300 natives of Ireland. The Irish immigrants form nearly five per cent. of the population of Scotland, while they form rather less than two per cent. of the population of England.

NEW LIBEL LAW.—The following is an abstract of the provisions of this bill:—Clause 1. In any action for defamation the defendant may, in mitigation of damages, give in evidence that he had offered an apology. 2. Where an action is brought against a newspaper for libel, the defendant may plead that the article was inserted without malice and gross negligence, and that he published an apology; upon the filing of which plea, he may pay into court a sum of money by way of amends. 3. The publishing, or threatening to publish, a libel with the view of extorting money, is punishable with imprisonment and hard labour for any period not exceeding three years. 4. Maliciously publishing a defamatory libel, knowing it to be false, punishable with imprisonment in the common gaol for any term not exceeding two years, and by fine. 5. Maliciously publishing any defamatory libel, fine or imprisonment not exceeding one year. 6. The truth of the matters charged to be libelous may be inquired into, but shall not amount to a defence, unless it was for the public benefit that the said matters should be published. 7. Defendant may show that the publication complained of took place without his authority, consent, or knowledge, and that the said publication did not arise from any want of due care and caution on his part. 8. Defendant entitled to his costs on acquittal. 9. Interpretation clause. 10. Act to take effect on the 1st of November, and not to extend to Scotland.

THE LARGE TOWNS OF LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE.—There are eleven towns in Lancashire with a population exceeding 20,000 each, of which four

(Ashton, Rochdale, Warrington, and Wigan) are under 30,000; one (Blackburn) is under 40,000; two (Preston and Bolton) are above 50,000 and under 60,000; two (Salford and Oldham) are above 60,000 and under 70,000; and two (Manchester and Liverpool) are above 200,000 each in population. There are seven towns in Yorkshire whose population exceeds 20,000, two of which (Halifax and Huddersfield) are under 30,000; one (York) is above 30,000 and under 40,000; two (Hull and Bradford) are above 60,000 and under 70,000; one (Sheffield) is above 100,000 and under 110,000; and one (Leeds) is above 150,000 and under 160,000. The aggregate population of the eleven Lancashire towns is 879,335; that of the seven Yorkshire towns, 474,615; aggregate population of the eighteen towns, 1,353,950. The only county in England which exceeds the aggregate population of these towns (of course excepting Yorkshire and Lancashire) is the metropolitan one of Middlesex; and, in fact, their population is about one-eleventh of that of England.

HOUSES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.—By a parliamentary return just issued, the number of inhabited houses in England is stated to be 2,753,295; the number uninhabited, 162,725; and the number building, 25,882. In Wales, the number inhabited is 188,146; uninhabited, 10,133; building, 1766. In Scotland, the number of inhabited houses is put down at 503,451; uninhabited, 24,295; building, 2763;—making a total of about 3,454,101 inhabited; 198,049 uninhabited; and 30,634 houses building throughout the United Kingdom, Ireland excepted, which is not included in the return.

Mr CHAS DICKENS, in a letter to Mr Clark, of the *Knickerbocker*, writes thus:—"When I resolved on ship board, coming home, to write upon America, I solemnly determined with myself that I never would read an American criticism on the book. Innumerable newspapers have been sent to me across the Atlantic since its publication. If there were anything to pay, they went back to the Post office; if nothing, they went, unopened, into the fire. I have never once departed from my resolution in the least degree; and I feel the wisdom of it in my good spirits and good humour."

Religious Intelligence.

MEETING OF THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION AT LEEDS.

The adjourned annual meeting of this important body has been held, during the present week, in Leeds, and has been attended by about two hundred ministers and delegates of churches. Amongst them were several of the first names in the denomination, as scholars, authors, and divines, including the well-known names of Dr Vaughan, principal of the independent college, Manchester; Mr John Angell James, of Birmingham; Mr Thomas Binney, of London; Mr Walter Scott, principal of Airedale college; Mr W. H. Stowell, principal of Masbro college; Josiah Conder, Esq., of London; together with the able and excellent ministers of this town. The chairman of the union, this year, was Mr John Reynolds, independent minister, of Romsey, formerly principal of the academy at Leaf square, Manchester. He presided over the meetings with dignity, courtesy, and excellent judgment. The spirit of harmony and affection, which prevailed throughout all the meetings, was not for a moment interrupted, though the freest discussion took place on many important questions. The private meetings of the ministers and delegates took place on the mornings of Wednesday and Thursday, and again, by adjournment, on Friday. On Wednesday a series of resolutions were passed, on the subject of education, to the following effect:—

RESOLUTIONS ON EDUCATION.

"I. That the subject of general education, in itself of great and vital moment, has acquired at the present juncture, in the judgment of this meeting, especial importance, as the result of the successful resistance of the friends of religious liberty to the partial and arbitrary measure proposed by government in the recent session of parliament—because the question in this country is now, more than ever, seen to be closely associated with differences of theological opinion on points of vital moment, and with claims on the one hand to ecclesiastical domination, and on the other to religious freedom and social equality.

"II. That without pronouncing a decided opinion on the propriety of government interference in the education of the people, this meeting entertains the gravest doubts whether any compulsory interference can take place without establishing principles and precedents dangerous to civil and religious liberty, inconsistent with the rights of industry, and superseding the duties of parents and churches; while all the plans of national education by the agency of government, suggested of late years, have been very objectionable either to the friends of the established church, or to the dissenting bodies. This meeting, therefore, concludes, without despondency or regret, that both the general and the religious education of the people of England must be chiefly provided and conducted by the voluntary efforts of the various denominations of Christians.

"III. That as it will behove the congregational churches to bear an extensive and zealous part in this important work, the present meeting would respectfully offer the following practical suggestions, as the result of its mature consideration of the subject:—

"1. That each church having adequate resources, should support a day school for boys, and another for girls; and that in cases where churches are unable, without assistance, to maintain week-day schools, the co-operation of other nonconformist churches, and of liberal members of the established church, should be sought, so that, if possible, in every locality where there is a congregational church, there should be a week-day school on liberal principles.

"2. That the ministers of the congregational churches are recommended to impress on their people the duty of aiding to the utmost of their power in the education of

the children of the poor; and that it is highly important that the ministers themselves should render active personal assistance in the establishment and supervision of schools.

"3. That early measures should be adopted to establish a central fund for assisting in the support of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, in localities where they cannot be sustained without such aid.

"4. That the congregational churches should give to the British and Foreign School society more effective support than heretofore, as an indispensable central institution to maintain model and normal schools for training teachers—to promote all improved modes of school management and tuition—to issue or recommend the best school books in all departments—to correspond with the friends of education throughout the country, and to move and guide the public mind on the great subject of education by public meetings, the press, and other appropriate means.

"5. That a committee of general education be established in London, in connexion with the Congregational union, to obtain and publish educational statistics in connexion particularly with our own body—to communicate with the committee of the British and Foreign School society, on behalf of the independent denomination—to correspond with churches desiring advice and information relative to the formation or management of week-day schools—to watch any future proposal or measure of government on this important subject, and to seek a friendly understanding, and any practical co-operation in this great work with the central committees of other denominations for educational purposes, and that the committee present a report of the operations to each annual meeting of the Congregational union."

On the following day a committee was appointed, consisting of about twenty gentlemen in London, with a larger number of corresponding members in different parts of the country, for the general superintendence and promotion of education in connexion with the body. It was also recommended that an efficient secretary should be appointed, who should devote himself exclusively to the work, and should be remunerated for his services. A splendid offer was mentioned to the meeting, of a donation in aid of the fund for establishing schools; but as it was conditional, the subject was deferred till the committee should be in operation. A strong disposition to maintain day schools was manifested on the part of the representatives of several congregations; and we hope this disposition will become universal, and that a great extension and improvement of education, by day schools and (as in some places may even be more useful) by evening schools, will be the result. At the morning meeting of Thursday, resolutions were passed approving of the proceedings at the general meeting to promote Christian union, held in Exeter hall, London, on the 1st of June, and at the bicentenary celebration of the Westminster Assembly, held in Edinburgh in July. Resolutions were also carried, expressive of sympathy with the brethren of the Free Protestant Presbyterian church of Scotland. An appeal to the independent churches, their bishops and deacons, "on the importance of a decided testimony to evangelical truth at the present crisis," was also passed; and on this subject a most able and interesting discussion took place, involving a consideration of theological errors believed to be creeping in through the means of the American divines. The resolutions were as follows:—

"That this meeting cannot contemplate the controversies and difficulties in which the established churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland are involved, and the obvious and growing discordance between such institutions and modern society, so plainly attributable to the unscriptural principle of human legislation in the church of Christ, without feeling an increased attachment to the scriptural views of Christian churches by which independents are distinguished, and a confirmed hope that those views, in their substance and chief principles, are destined at no remote period to obtain a prevalence in general opinion, similar to that which now secures almost universal assent to the doctrines of religious toleration—state of the public mind which this meeting believes will be, whenever realised, eminently favourable to the repose, liberty, and triumph of the church of Christ."

"That this meeting considers the aspect of these remarkable times, whether political or ecclesiastical, theological or social, as addressing a powerful call to congregationalists for vigorous efforts to disseminate their principles by the press, by missions, by schools, by the erection of chapels—so that, not for the sake of party, but for the sake of truth, they may, at a time when an exhibition of their principles is more than ever important, present a practical and powerful testimony in their favour."

The following resolution was also moved by Mr WELLS, seconded by Mr J. W. MASSIE, and carried unanimously:—

"That this meeting fully concurs in those principles and views which lead to an almost universal and a very prevalent desire throughout the denomination, that no members connected with the congregational churches should any longer be recipients of the regium donum, and entertains confident hope that early and efficient measures will be adopted to enable the denomination to repudiate all participation in this grant without depriving any member of a pittance derived from this source."

The ministers and delegates dined together in the school rooms of East Parade chapel on Wednesday and Thursday—the dinners being provided, with great liberality and good taste, by the ladies of the several congregations. Mr Thomas Seales presided on the former day, and Mr R. W. Hamilton on the latter. A resolution was passed expressing sympathy with the baptist brethren, on the late manifestation of intolerance towards their denomination in Copenhagen. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr Thomas Binney for his admirable sermon, with a request that he would print it: also to Mr John Reynolds, for his dignified, courteous, and able presidency: also to Mr Edward Baines, jun., for his recent services in the cause of religious freedom: also to the secretaries, to the ladies, &c. A considerable number of ministers, who had not hitherto belonged to the congregational union, were admitted at this meeting. Among these we may mention the names of Mr John Ely, Mr Walter Scott, Mr James Pridie, and Mr J. G. Miall.

WHEATLEY, NEAR OXFORD.—The anniversary of the chapel at this village was held on Wednesday, Oct. 4, when Mr C. Davies, the agent of the Home Missionary society in that place, was ordained to

the pastorate of the little church there, gathered together by his labours. This station, surrounded as it is by many ignorant and destitute villages, gives promise of great usefulness. The chapel, which was opened twelve months since, is filled on Sabbath evenings, sometimes to overflowing, with an attentive congregation, gathered out of a population notoriously profligate before. A Sabbath school is formed, with a library for the children, and another for the villagers. Tract distribution is carefully attended to, and other means of usefulness are in operation, which it is hoped will, with the divine blessing, effect ere long a visible change in the moral character of the district. Indeed, in some measure, this is already apparent.

LEVEN, FIFESHIRE.—The congregational church here, having lately called Mr Ralph Roebuck to the office of pastor, and he having accepted of the invitation, met on Wednesday, 4th curr, for the purpose of publicly cementing that connexion. The pastors of the neighbouring churches, and several friends from Edinburgh, attended on the occasion. Messrs W. L. Alexander, Bateman, and Swan of Edinburgh, Watson of Musselburgh, M'Kenzie of Elie, and Smith of Falkland, took part in the proceedings. This church has been upwards of two years without a pastor, and it is hoped that the settlement now made may result in the welfare of the church itself, and forward the cause of congregationalism in Fife.

THE REV. J. STOUGHTON.—On Sunday evening, the 8th instant, the Rev. J. Stoughton, who we have before stated was about to leave Windsor, delivered his farewell address to his congregation at the Independent chapel in William street. The chapel was exceedingly crowded, and the closing testimony of the reverend gentleman, which was characterised by the most affectionate tenderness and fidelity, was listened to with great attention. On Monday evening, at the public school-room, a meeting was held for a most interesting purpose connected with the reverend gentleman. The friends of Mr Stoughton, desirous of presenting him with some abiding memorial of their esteem and regard, had, by their contributions, purchased a tea service of solid silver, comprising tea-pot, sugar basin, and ewer; and on the board was also placed a purse containing twenty-five sovereigns. Mr Ray, as senior member, in a short but suitable address, begged that Mr Stoughton would accept them, as a token of the affectionate and grateful remembrance which he and the late people of his charge entertained of his affectionate, judicious, and faithful superintendence during the eleven years in which they had enjoyed his pastoral labours. Mr Harris then rose, and presented a silver cruet stand, which the female servants of the congregation had purchased, and which they begged Mr Stoughton to accept, as their humble testimonial of the high estimation in which they held him, and the deep feeling of gratitude they felt for his faithful ministrations. The reverend gentleman rose to reply, evidently under a pressure of most overwhelming emotions, and in language of touching tenderness endeavoured to express the weighty sense of obligation which he should feel under to his Windsor friends; the interest he should ever feel in the prosperity of the cause of the Redeemer in William Street chapel; and the anxiety which he felt that none of his late hearers, who had thus borne so kind a testimonial to his fidelity as their pastor, should be found at the last great day to have been unfaithful to the immortal interest of their own souls. A farewell hymn, composed for the occasion, was then sung by the children of the British school with excellent effect, after which the company separated.—*Windsor Express*.

WATERSFIELD, NEAR PETWORTH.—The new village chapel in this place was opened for public worship on Friday, October the 6th. Two excellent sermons were preached on the occasion; one by Mr J. Edwards of Brighton, and the other by Mr J. N. Goult of Brighton. Messrs. J. Edmunds of Petworth, J. Benson of Chichester, and C. J. Morgan of Haslemere, assisted in the devotional services. Collections, to defray the expense of the building, were made.

WEST SUSSEX.—The quarterly meeting of the association of independent ministers and churches of Western Sussex, established for promoting home missions in the county, was held at Petworth on Thursday, October 5. The business of the society was conducted in the afternoon. In the evening a sermon was preached in the Independent chapel, by Mr J. Benson, A.M., of Chichester. The devotional services were conducted by Messrs Edmunds of Petworth, Morgan of Haslemere, Wiseman, A.M., of Arundel, and Goult of Brighton.

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD.—On Tuesday, Sept. 26, a series of very interesting and somewhat peculiar services was held at the once Wesleyan, but now Independent chapel, the object of which was twofold; the organisation of a number of Christians, formerly Wesleyans, into a congregational church; and the recognition of Mr J. Price, once a local preacher, as their pastor. Mr T. Hopley, baptist minister in the town, commenced by the reading of the scriptures and prayer. Mr J. Bull, M.A., Newport Pagnell, then delivered a lucid and argumentative discourse, explanatory of the principles of a Christian church; after which he proposed several questions to the candidates for congregationalism. The church being now formed, judicious and affectionate counsels were addressed to the deacons and members by Mr W. Payne, Chesham (baptist), and Mr J. Robinson, Luton. The morning engagements were concluded by the administration of the Lord's supper: Mr T. G. Stamper, Uxbridge, presided, and Christians of various churches and denominations united in the celebration of this evangelic ordinance. The evening service commenced by Mr J. Fernie, Bushey, offering the recognition prayer. Mr J. Price, in reply to

questions proposed by Mr T. G. Stamper, expressed his cordial acceptance of the pastorate, and briefly stated his views of the cardinal doctrines of the gospel. Mr T. G. Stamper then delivered to him a solemn and affectionate charge, founded on 1 Tim. iv. 15. The duties of the church to their pastor were clearly explained and powerfully enforced by Mr D. Thomas, Chesham; his discourse was founded on Jer. iii. 15, first clause. Messrs Bartlett of Chenes, Heathcote of Berkhamstead, Wake of Market Street, (baptists,) and Mr W. Thomas of Saundersfoot, near Tenby, Pembrokeshire, aided in conducting the devotional exercises of the day.

LINDFIELD, SUSSEX.—The ordination of Mr J. E. Judson, late of Hackney college, to the pastorate of the congregational church assembling in the above place, took place on Wednesday, the 4th inst. Mr S. Ransom, Hebrew and classical tutor of Hackney college, preached a luminous introductory discourse. Messrs E. Jones, of Lewes, asked the usual questions; J. Edwards, of Brighton, offered the ordination prayer; and Dr Leitch, of London, delivered a very impressive and affectionate charge to the young minister. Mr I. N. Goult, of Brighton, preached an effective sermon to the people. The chapel was crowded with a deeply interested audience, in which were many neighbouring ministers, of whom Messrs Hall, Roberts, Kidgell, Gravett, and Hunter, took part in the services.

COVENTRY.—Mr E. H. Delf, late of Coward college, has accepted a unanimous invitation from the church and congregation assembling in West Orchard chapel, Coventry, to the office of co-pastor with Mr John Gerard, and purposes entering upon his labours the first Sabbath in November.

CHICHESTER.—The half-yearly meeting of the eastern district of the Hampshire association of independent ministers and churches was held in this city, at Mr Malden's chapel, last Tuesday week, when an excellent sermon on the "unity of the church," was preached by Mr Varty of Fareham. The devotional parts of the service were conducted by Messrs Evans of Emsworth, Scamp of Havant, Slatterie of Rowland's Castle, Jones of Portsea, and Mudie of Portsmouth. The Hampshire association, of which the above-named ministers form a part, is a society that is diffusing through the towns and villages around, by voluntary means, the light and liberty of Christian knowledge.

UNION CHAPEL, ISLINGTON.—Mr Henry Allon, of Cheshunt college, has accepted the unanimous invitation of the church at Union chapel, to the office of co-pastor, with the Rev. Thomas Lewis, and will commence his regular ministerial duties there on the first Sabbath in January next, affording occasional assistance to Mr Lewis during the interval.

SALWAY ASH, NEAR BRIDPORT, DORSET.—On the 5th instant a neat little chapel, in connexion with the home missionary station at Netherbury, was opened. In the afternoon Mr James Cheney commenced with prayer; Mr John Wills of Bridport read the scriptures and prayed; Mr George Jones of Lyme preached from Luke xv. 10; and Mr S. Hebditch of Merriott concluded. In the evening Mr Alfred Bishop of Beaminster preached from Isa. xxxii. 20. At both of the services the attendance was so numerous that it was found necessary to take out the windows of the chapel, that the people on the outside might hear; and in the evening the overflow also assembled in the adjacent Wesleyan chapel, which was kindly lent for the purpose, when a sermon was delivered by Mr J. Cheney. Collections were made for the reduction of the debt on the building, of which about £35 remains.

ZION CHAPEL, CHATHAM.—On Lord's day, the 8th of October, the anniversary sermons of the above baptist place of worship were preached by Mr W. Fraser of London; after which collections were made towards the liquidation of the debt on the chapel. The services were well attended, and very impressive. On the following Monday evening about 300 friends sat down to a tea, gratuitously furnished by the ladies of the church and congregation; after which spirited addresses were delivered by Messrs P. Thomson, M.A., (independent,) J. Davies (Wesleyan), and J. E. Coulson (Wesleyan); the devotional engagements of the evening being conducted by other ministers and friends. Mr J. Stock, the pastor, presided. The greatest harmony and affection characterised all the services: many friends of other denominations were present, and lent their active assistance. The total receipts of the anniversary were £33 7s. 4d. During little more than a year the church, by vigorous efforts, has paid £200 off of the debt so long remaining on their place of worship: a year and three months since it amounted to £1030; it is now reduced to £830.

WESLEYAN STATISTICS.—The number of members last year, in Great Britain, was 326,727; this year it is 331,024; showing an increase of 4,297. The number of traveling preachers, last year, was 969 "regular preachers;" 133 "supernumerary and superannuated;" total, 1,093. This year it is 964 "ministers" (to use the new, but proper expression of the minutes), and 161 "ditto supernumerary and superannuated;" total, 1,105; showing an increase of ministers, in full work, of 4; in the supernumerary and superannuated, of 8; total, 12. It appears the gross increase in the districts is 6,229; the gross decrease, 1,932; net increase, 4,297. — *Wesleyan Chronicle.*

BIRTHS.

Oct. 4, the wife of Mr T. BESLEY, Tiverton, of a daughter.

Oct. 14, the wife of Mr J. MATHER, minister of the gospel at Brompton, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

Oct. 8, at Queen Street chapel, Sheffield, by Mr J. H. Muir, minister of the gospel, Mr GEORGE WEBER, Burton-upon-Trent, to Miss HANNAH EPWORTH, Spitalfields.

Oct. 10, at the Old meeting-house, St Neots, by Mr Edward Muscutt, CHARLES FREDERIC HINDLEY, Esq., of Duckenfield, (nephew of Charles Hindley, Esq., M.P.,) to MARY ANN, daughter of the late Mr Robert Ivy, minister of Duckenfield.

Oct. 10, at Westgate chapel, Bradford, by Mr J. Foster, Mr REUBEN GAUNT, clothier, of Faraley, to SARAH, daughter of Mr William LAWSON, clothier, of Rodley.

Oct. 10, at the Baptist chapel, Tuthill Stairs, Newcastle, by Mr R. Pengilly, minister of the gospel, GEORGE, son of Mr W. ANGUS, Union cottage, Gateshead, to MARY ELLEN, daughter of Mr R. BELL, confectioner, Pilgrim street.

Oct. 10, in the Old Independent meeting, Stepney, by Mr George Smith, independent minister, of Poplar, Mr WALTER G. NEWSTEAD, of Southwark, to Miss JANE GRAHAM, of Ratcliff.

Oct. 11, at the Independent chapel, Wells, Somerset, by Mr T. C. Davie, independent minister, Miss ELIZABETH H. BACKHOUSE, second daughter of Mr Backhouse of Dulcote, Somerset, to JAMES F. LAWRENCE, Esq., of Clifton.

Oct. 11, at Zion chapel, Margate, by Mr Thomas Young, Mr JOHN STYLES, D.D., independent minister, to Mrs ANN ROSS, widow, daughter of the late William Bird, Esq., Clapham road, Kennington, Surrey.

Oct. 12, at the Independent chapel, Worthing, by Mr Thomas Atkins, independent minister, by license, Mr JAMES BLATCH, of Southampton, to ELIZA, the only daughter of John GOATER, Esq., of the same place.

Oct. 12, at the registrar's office, Gravesend, by Mr D. Marsh, minister of the gospel, of Missenden, Mr P. HILL, of Great Coram street, Russell square, London, to ELIZABETH, eldest daughter of Mr R. CARTWRIGHT, of the Grove, Milton next Gravesend, and Chancery lane, London.

Oct. 12, at Worthing, by license, by Mr Thomas Atkins, independent minister, of Southampton, JAMES BLATCH, Esq., of Southampton, to ELIZA, the only daughter of John GOATER, Esq., of the same place.

Oct. 13, at Earl's Barton meeting-house, by Mr T. Phillips, Mr H. DUNKLEY, to Miss R. DEVONSHIRE, both of that village.

Oct. 16, at Bond Street chapel, Birmingham, by Mr T. Morgan, minister, Mr J. DAVIES, minister of the gospel, Swanwick, to Miss GOODE, of Wrexham.

At Bugeley, Warwickshire, an old man of the name of MARTIN, of Longdon, aged 76, some time ago appeared at the altar with a girl of 17, as his intended bride; while her sister, two years older, was led thither by Martin's grandson, aged 19. Thus the old man has a brother in a grandson, and a sister in his wife; his spouse must submit to the venerable epithet of grandmother from her eldest sister, and the young man may address the damsel of 17 as his grandmother or sister, at pleasure; while his wife may claim, as her just right, by reason of her mature age, the submission of her sister, or may be called upon to exercise all the respectful docility of a granddaughter towards her.

DEATHS.

Oct. 7, at Woodbridge, Mr GEORGE LAMB, in the 67th year of his age. For twenty-six years he sustained the office of deacon in the congregational church connected with the Quay meeting.

Oct. 8, Mrs LAMB, aged 64, wife of the above, from apoplexy, caused by extreme distress at the loss sustained of so valuable and affectionate a husband.

Oct. 8, aged 26, of consumption, William Martin Harvard, brother of Mr John Harvard, minister of the gospel at Ipswich, and nephew to Mr W. M. Harvard, of Canada. His end was peace.

Oct. 11, at Clifton Wells, near Bristol, Dr BOWSTEAD, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, after a lengthened and painful illness.

Oct. 10, at Paris, where he had been under the care of an eminent surgeon in that capital, for the treatment of a painful and distressing complaint of a cancerous nature, Mr BEAN, proprietor and editor of the *Liverpool Albion*.

On Thursday, the 12th inst, at his residence in Orchard street, Dr Draper, aged 65, for many years the beloved and respected pastor of the Baptist church and congregation meeting in the chapel in East street, Southampton.

Oct. 17, at Wendover, Mr Charles Talbot, pastor of the General Baptist church in that town, aged 36 years. Deceased was universally esteemed for his piety, talents, and amiable disposition, and his loss is deeply regretted by all classes of the inhabitants.

Trade and Commerce.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, Oct. 13.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 William IV., cap. 85:—

Bethel chapel, Chester-le-Street, Durham.

Baptist meeting-house, Stanwick, Northamptonshire.

Baptist meeting, Earl's Barton, Northamptonshire.

BANKRUPTS.

FILBEY, WILLIAM EDWARD, Norwich, wine merchant, Oct. 25, Nov. 16: solicitors, Messrs Hill and Matthews, Bury court, St Mary Axe, London.

HARRISON, JOSEPH, Brighton, coach builder, Oct. 30, Nov. 24: solicitor, Mr Cross, Surrey street, Strand.

HARRISON, JOHN WILLIAM, Stockton-upon-Tees, Durham, grocer, Oct. 30, Nov. 20: solicitors, Messrs Maples and Co., Frederick's place, Old Jewry, and Messrs Conwell and Ridley, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

RIDGEWAY, JOSEPH, Manchester, merchant, Oct. 26, Nov. 21: solicitors, Messrs Bower and Back, Chancery lane, London, and Messrs Barlow and Aston, Manchester.

SMALLEY, JOHN, Sneinton, Nottinghamshire, iron founder, Oct. 26, Nov. 28: solicitors, Mr Bowley, Nottingham, and Mr Smith, Birmingham.

WHIDBORNE, THOMAS JAMES, Liverpool, chemist, Oct. 26, Nov. 14: solicitors, Messrs Hall, Bishop, and Co., Verulam buildings, Gray's inn, London, and Mr Neal, Liverpool.

WOODRUFF, JAMES LEONARD, Great Missenden, Buckinghamshire, innkeeper, Oct. 25, Nov. 15: solicitor, Mr Paterson, Bourne street, Fleet street, London.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CARDNO, P., Aberdeen, stoneware merchant, Oct. 17, Nov. 7.

FRASER, A., Inverness, grocer, Oct. 21, Nov. 11.

SIMPSON, J., Greenock, merchant, Oct. 21, Nov. 11.

Tuesday, October 17th.

BANKRUPTICES ANNULLED.

COOPER, ALFRED CAMPBELL, Evesham, Worcestershire, draper.

CLARKE, CHARLES, 8, Tower street, Westminster road, baker.

BANKRUPTS.

ABBOTT, ROBERT TEBBITT, and TEBBITT, ALFRED THWAYTES, Birmingham, wholesale tea-dealers, November 1 and 25: solicitor, Mr Mole, Birmingham.

DICKINSON, WILLIAM, Abbey hill, Bexley, Kent, and of Millwall, Poplar, merchant, Parisian bitumen manufacturer, October 30, November 30: solicitors, Messrs Walker and Grindley, Southampton row, Bloomsbury square.

FEARSON, WILLIAM HOLLISS, 106, Wood street, Cheapside, and of West Ham, Essex, sewing cotton manufacturer, October 30, November 30: solicitors, Messrs Willoughby and Co., Clifford's inn.

GORDON, ANTHONY, CARTWRIGHT, WILLIAM, and BLACKETT, JAMES, Manchester, machine makers, October 30, November 20: solicitors, Mr Makinson, Manchester, and Messrs Gregory and Co., Bedford row, London.

SHARPE, RICHARD, Chelmsford, Essex, draper, October 26, November 14: solicitors, Messrs Sole, Aldermanbury, London.

WOOD, JOHN, 42, Coleman street, and 94, Farringdon street, City, tobacconist, October 21, November 29: solicitors, Messrs Crossby and Co., Church court, Old Jewry.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

COUTTS, JAMES, Dundee, wright, Oct. 23, Nov. 13.

CAMPBELL, PETER, Edinburgh, tavern keeper, Oct. 20, Nov. 10.

DUNCAN, DANIEL FERGUSON, Glasgow, engraver, Oct. 23, Nov. 13.

GUY, WALTER, Paisley, cooper, Oct. 21, Nov. 11.

HANNAY, JOHN, Dalquharrin, Kirkcudbright, wood merchant, Oct. 25, Nov. 15.

M'ILLAN, DOUGAL, Helmsdale, Sutherlandshire, wood merchant, Oct. 29, Nov. 13.

POLLOCK, WILLIAM, Glasgow, writer, Oct. 20, Nov. 14.

BRITISH FUNDS.

Very little business is doing at present in the funds, the ministerial proceedings in Ireland having put a stop to all speculation. Prices have advanced since our last.

	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	95	95	95	95	95	95
Ditto for Account ..	95	95	95	95	95	95
3 per cent. Reduced ..	94	94	94	94	94	94
3½ per cent. Reduced ..	101	101	101	101	101	102
New 3½ per cent.	102	102	102	102	102	102
Long Annuities ..	12	12	12	12	12	12
Bank Stock ..	—	179	179	180	180	—
India Stock ..	—	268	267	270	269	—
Exchequer Bills ..	64pm	62pm	62pm	62pm	63pm	63pm
India Bonds ..	73pm	75pm	78pm	78pm	78pm	—

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	115	Mexican	33
Belgian	105	Peruvian	20
Brazilian	73	Portuguese 5 per cents	44
Buenos Ayres	—	Ditto 3 per cents	—
Columbian	35	Russian	115
Danish	85	Spanish Active	20
Dutch 2½ per cents	53	Ditto Passive	4
Ditto 5 per cents	99	Ditto Deferred	—

RAILWAY SHARES.

THE NONCONFORMIST.

higher than last quoted. At the close of the market a very small number was turned out unsold. The supply of calves was good, both as to numbers and quality; yet the sale for them was fair, and their currencies had an upward tendency. Notwithstanding the numbers of pigs were rather large, the pork trade was active, at an advance of 2d. per lbs. From Ireland nearly 300 were received.

Price per stone of lbs. (sinking the offal).
 Beef 2s. 8d. to 3s. 10d. | Veal 3s. 6d. to 4s. 8d.
 Mutton 2 10 .. 4 4 | Pork 3 0 .. 4 0
 HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.
 Beasts. Sheep. Calves. Pigs.
 Friday 520 5,670 228 360
 Monday 3,339 29,350 123 370

NEWGATE and LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, Oct. 16.

Per lbs. by the carcass.

Inferior Beef 2s. 4d. to 2s. 8d. | Inf. Mutton 2s. 8d. to 2s. 10d.
 Middling do 2 8 .. 2 10 | Mid. ditto 3 0 .. 3 4
 Prime large 2 10 .. 3 0 | Prime ditto 3 6 .. 4 0
 Prime small 3 2 .. 3 6 | Veal 3 4 .. 4 6
 Large Pork 2 10 .. 3 6 | Small Pork 3 8 .. 3 10

POTATOES, BOROUGH, Monday, Oct. 16.

Since our last liberal supplies have come to hand from all parts, including several cargoes from Yorkshire and Scotland. The total quantity received during the past week amounts to 2478 tons: viz., from Yorkshire, 885; Scotland, 583; Devon, 520; Kent and Essex, 265; Jersey and Guernsey, 285 tons.

York reds .. per ton 60s. to 70s. | Guernsey whites .. —s. to 40s.
 Devon do 55 .. 60 | Kent and Essex do 40 .. 50
 Scotch do 55 .. 60

COTTON.

Extensive as were the sales of last week, those of the present one have proved considerably larger; for the same number of days, the business has surpassed any done in the market during the last nineteen years. The unusual animation is attributed to the ratification of the treaty with China, together with the backwardness of the American crop and the healthy state of commercial affairs in our manufacturing districts. There is further improvement in prices of 4d. to 1d. per lb. on the common and middle qualities of American; 1d. per lb. on Brazil, Egyptians, and Surats; and of fully 4d. per lb. on Sea Islands. Unassisted by any export demand, the sales this week have amounted to 96,500 bales, of which speculators have taken 54,000 bales.

WOOL.

There is a better feeling in the long wool trade this week, and anything that is selling is at full prices: on some sorts a little more is asked, but has not yet been obtained. Short wools are in fair demand: prices are unaltered.

HAY, SMITHFIELD, Oct. 14.—At per load of 36 trusses.
 Coarse Meadow 55s. to 70s. | New Clover Hay 70s. to 98s.
 New ditto 45 .. 78 | Old ditto 70 .. 110
 Useful old ditto 72 .. 82 | Oat Straw 26 .. 30
 Fine Upland do 84 .. 88 | Wheat Straw 30 .. 34

COAL EXCHANGE, Oct. 16.
 Stewart's, 19s. 6d.; Hetton's, 19s. 6d.; Lambton's, 19s. 6d.; Hartlepool's, 19s. 3d.; Braddys Hetton's, 19s. 9d. Ships arrived this week, 162.

GROCERIES, TUESDAY, Oct. 17.
 TEA.—The public sales advertised for Thursday next, consisting of about 50,000 packages, have completely stopped business. Good common Congous are nominally 1s. 1d. to 1s. 1d. per lb.

COFFEE.—120 casks Jamaica sold by auction at firm rates; good to fine ordinary quality went at 3s. to 60s. per cwt. A small parcel of Mocha went at rather advanced rates; middling good clean garbled fetched 73s. to 76s. per cwt. 700 bags Ceylon fetched rather higher prices.

SUGAR.—100 hds Barbadoes were sold by auction at Friday's rates: good to fine yellow fetched 63s. to 66s. 6d., and low to middling 58s. to 62s. 6d. per cwt. The trade bought about 600 hds and tierces. The refined market was rather lower, standard lumps selling at 73s. 6d. to 75s., and brown grocery at 72s. to 72s. 6d. per cwt.

Advertisements.

EAST LONDON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY SOCIETY.
 THE FIRST PUBLIC MEETING OF THIS SOCIETY will be held on TUESDAY next, October 24th, at the EASTERN INSTITUTION, COMMERCIAL ROAD, when the Nature and Objects of the Society will be fully explained.

DR BOWRING, M.P., Will take the Chair at half-past Six o'Clock precisely, and several Ministers and other influential Gentlemen will address the Meeting.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

GENTLEMEN,
 THE lamented death of my friend Sir Matthew Wood has caused a VACANCY in your REPRESENTATION. On two occasions you have returned me to Parliament; and at the last election 6070 votes were recorded in my favour.

A large number of influential electors urged me, at this time, to come forward as a candidate for your suffrages; and I feel that, under the present critical circumstances of the country, I ought not to hesitate.

My opinions on all great political questions are well known to you; my votes are on record, and my sentiments remain unchanged.

On the subject which now chiefly occupies the public mind, my views are clear and decided; and the votes I have invariably given in favour of Mr Villiers's motions on the Corn Laws sufficiently attest their sincerity.

There is no question affecting the rights of the people in which I shall not continue to feel a deep interest; and, should you place me in the honourable position of your Representative, I trust I shall ever prove myself the firm supporter of Civil and Religious Liberty.

With respect to the important local and commercial interests of this great city, it shall be my constant study to attend to them, as heretofore, with zeal and fidelity.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,
 Your faithful and obedient servant,
 JAMES PATTISON.

574, Old Broad street, October 2, 1843.

The COMMITTEE for conducting Mr PATTISON'S ELECTION SIT DAILY at 15, POULTRY.

CITY OF LONDON ELECTION.

THE COMMITTEE for conducting the Election of JAMES PATTISON, Esq., for the City of London, have the satisfaction to report that the result of a week's canvass fully justifies the most sanguine expectations of success.

The Electors of London feel deeply the importance of the contest, as regards their interest, between Monopoly and Class-aggrandisement on the one hand, and Free Trade and generally diffused prosperity on the other; and, without attaching undue weight to the nominal distinctions of Whig and Tory, they can fully estimate the claims of the competing candidates to the support of the Liberal Constituency of London, by referring to the votes which they have severally given on questions affecting the Rights of Conscience and the Liberty of the People.

The Committee earnestly call upon the Electors not to rest satisfied with merely obtaining the victory, but to exert all their energies to make their cause triumphant by such a majority as shall extend its powerful moral influence through every part of the kingdom.

JOHN TRAVERS, Chairman.

GEORGE WANSEY, Secretary.

Committee room, 15, Poultry, 10th October, 1843.

BRITISH MISSIONS.
 ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND THE COLONIES.

LORD'S DAY, the 29th inst, is the day proposed for Simultaneous Collections by all the Independent Churches, in support of the HOME MISSIONARY, IRISH EVANGELICAL, and COLONIAL MISSIONARY SOCIETIES, united under the designation of BRITISH MISSIONS. The Pastors and Deacons of the Churches are requested, with the greatest earnestness and respect, to promote universal concurrence in the proposed effort. Never did the necessities and the prospects of these most important societies more urgently require the assistance so easily rendered, and so earnestly requested in the manner now recommended.

For the Home Missionary Society, JAMES MATHESON, Secretary
 Irish Evangelical Society, THOMAS JAMES ditto.
 Colonial Missionary Society, ALGERNON WELLS, ditto.

HANOVER CHAPEL, BOGNOR.

THE ANNIVERSARY of the above Place of Worship will be held on WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 25th, 1843; when the Rev. Dr LEIFCHILD, of Craven Chapel, London, will preach in the Afternoon at Three, and in the Evening at Seven. Collections will be made after each Service.

THE CONGREGATIONAL CALENDAR and FAMILY ALMANAC for 1844 will be published early in November, price One Shilling. This compendious and useful Manual, in addition to the information usually contained in Almanacs, will present a condensed account of general Ecclesiastical Statistics, especially those relating to the Congregational denomination; and much useful information respecting the opinions and proceedings of Protestant Dissenters.

The consecutive character of the information contained in this Annual renders it important that the series should be preserved for reference: it will therefore be found a desirable medium for Advertisements that require permanence, while its extensive circulation renders it most eligible for Advertisements of a more ephemeral character.

All Advertisements must be addressed to the Publishers, Messrs JACKSON and WALFORD, 18, St Paul's churchyard, before October 20th.

TERMS.—Quarter of a page, 10s.; half a page, 18s.; a whole page, £1 1s. 6d.

I.

By Mr TURLE, Organist of Westminster Abbey, and Professor TAYLOR, Gresham College.

1. PSALM TUNES.
2. SACRED MUSIC.
3. GLEES, MADRIGALS, DUETS, SONGS, &c.

THE PEOPLE'S MUSIC BOOK. A Work intended to meet the growing demand for Music among all classes of the community. Principally arranged for Four Voices, and, where admissible, with an accompaniment for the Organ or Pianoforte. Each number contains three separate portions, forming, respectively, a complete body of the best Music for the Cathedral, the Church or Chapel, the Family, the Glee Club, and the Madrigal Society. Published monthly in parts, comprising thirty-two pages super-royal octave, price One Shilling.

II.

The 30th Edition of 1000 each.

FLETCHER'S FAMILY DEVOTION; containing the Morning and Evening Service of a Family for every Day throughout the Year. Embellished with Seventeen elegant Engravings. Bound in cloth, gilt edges, price £1 6s. Recommended by 25 distinguished Ministers in England, and upwards of 100 Clergymen in the United States of America.

"Our attention has lately been called to an advertisement of a book of 'Family Devotion,' containing the morning and evening service of a family for every day throughout the year." According to the advertisement, this new order for morning and evening prayer daily throughout the year is already in its 30th edition of 1000 each. 30,000 copies of a book of common prayer for dissenters, recommended by twenty-five distinguished ministers whose names are given, and who include some of the most prominent of the day, cannot be dispersed throughout England without working some considerable change in the minds of probably 200,000 persons." —*The Times*, Sept. 27, 1843.

III.

Just published.

A PORTRAIT of the Rev. JOHN CUMMING, M.A., Minister of the Scottish National Church, Crown court, Little Russell street, Covent garden. Engraved by Thomson, from a painting by W. Booth, Esq., in the possession of Mr Cumming. Large paper, India proofs, 10s.; small paper, plain proofs, 7s. 6d.

London: GEORGE VIRTUE, 26, Ivy lane, Paternoster row; and all Booksellers.

WORKS just published by JACKSON and WALFORD, 18, St Paul's churchyard.

In royal 12mo, price 9s. cloth.

AN ESSAY on the PROFESSION of PERSONAL RELIGIOUS CONVICTION, and upon the Separation of Church and State, considered with reference to the Fulfilment of that Duty. By Professor A. VINET, of Lausanne. Translated from the French by CHARLES THEODORE JONES.

"We have read this Essay with so much pleasure and profit, that we most heartily recommend it. Professor Vinet has done good service to the cause of truth by its publication." "His book was needed in England as well as on the continent." —*Patriot*.

"An able book, on an important subject, well deserving the honour of translation." "It is written with real liberality, and we strongly recommend it to the attention of our readers." —*The Inquirer*.

"No work that has appeared of late is more fitted, in our opinion, to raise the tone of personal piety, and personal devotion to Christ, than the first part of this most admirable Essay." —*Evangelical Magazine*.

In royal 12mo, price 7s. 6d. cloth, Second Edition.

THE AGE of GREAT CITIES; or, Modern Civilisation viewed in its relation to Intelligence, Morals, and Religion. By ROBERT VAUGHAN, D.D.

"The valuable work of Dr Vaughan is the production of a superior mind, directed by influences both exalted and benevolent. It deserves a careful examination, more especially at the present moment, when the most strange and mischievous theories have been hazarded." —*Edinburgh Review*.

"Dr Vaughan's work, which is written in a clear and eloquent style, is calculated to give a right direction to opinion on subjects of much importance; and is therefore highly deserving of public attention." —*Morning Chronicle*.

"The Age of Great Cities" has afforded us much delight. It ought at once to become popular. . . . We know of no work of modern times better fitted to produce a salutary impression on the national mind." —*Patriot*.

"This is a remarkable book by a remarkable man." —*Church and State Gazette*.

In sep 8vo, price 3s. cloth.

LECTURES on TRACTARIAN THEOLOGY. By the Rev. JOHN STOUGHTON, of Windsor.

"The Christian minister should be a witness against the errors of his day." —*Tract No. XXXVIII*.

"The style in which they (the subjects) are treated is admirably adapted to the purpose of popular instruction. Concise without being superficial, they present, of course, only a brief outline of the arguments that might be adduced in refutation of the tractarian notions; but Mr Stoughton has seized the main points, and with great clearness placed them before his readers in the light of scripture, giving, as much as possible, a practical direction to the polemical discussion." —*Patriot*.

Early in November will be published, Price Sixpence, THE COMPLETE SUFFRAGE ALMANACK for the Year 1844. Under the sanction of the council of the National Complete Suffrage Union.

The rapid and unprecedented success which has marked the progress of the Complete Suffrage agitation, and the growing interest which it excites in the public mind, clearly indicate that it will, at no distant period, become a great national movement for securing the political enfranchisement of the people. Its influence is already felt in almost every portion of the kingdom, and there is scarcely a city or borough of any importance, in England or Scotland, that does not possess a local organisation for carrying out its objects. From various causes, however, not the least of which is the uniform silence maintained, with one exception, by the leading organs of the daily press, with respect to the movement, the question has not attracted that share of public attention to which its present standing, and the future influence it is likely to exercise, justly entitle it. With a view, therefore, to assist in supplying the general want of information which prevails, as to the position and prospects of this cause, it is proposed to issue a Complete Suffrage Almanack for the ensuing year.

The plan of the work will be briefly as follows. It will be the object of the compiler to give it a twofold character—blending the useful intelligence usually found in such publications, with that kind of information more especially interesting to the friends of political equality—uniting, as far as possible, the requirements of an Almanack, with those of a Complete Suffrage manual. In connexion with the latter object it is proposed to give a succinct history of the rise, progress, and prospects of the Complete Suffrage movement, to furnish particulars as to the mode of carrying out its organisation, and the names of places in which associations have already been formed—to provide all needful information as to the position of the cause with respect to the representation of the country, its parliamentary supporters, a list of constituencies most favourable to its principles, and other useful intelligence, relative to the formation of election committees, the registration of voters, &c.

It will also form part of the proposed plan, to furnish a large amount of valuable information, illustrating the present inequality and inadequacy of the parliamentary representation, and to give various statistical facts bearing upon the question of class legislation. In a word, it is hoped that the Almanack will present, as far as possible, a bird's eye view of this great movement, and contain such other intelligence as is calculated to strengthen and recommend the great principles upon which it is based.

It is hoped that this imperfect sketch of the proposed publication will convey a general idea of its objects and intention. On the part of the compilers, no trouble or expense will be spared to make it in every way worthy of the support and encouragement of the friends of popular liberty and of the public in general; and they feel assured that so useful an undertaking, if efficiently conducted, will meet with general approbation and patronage.

The Compiler will be glad to avail himself of any general or statistical information, bearing upon the object of the Almanack, which the friends of the cause may have in their power to communicate, which may be addressed to the Publishers.

London: Published by DAVIS and HASLER, at the Depository of the National Complete Suffrage Union, No. 4, Crane court, Fleet street; and to be had of all Booksellers.

Just published, Second Edition, demy 12mo, price 6d.

REASONS why I, a JEW, have become a CATHOLIC, and not a ROMAN CATHOLIC: a Letter in reply to the Rev. R. W. Sibthorpe, B.A., late of Ryde. By RIDLEY H. HERSCHELL, Author of "A Brief Sketch of the Jews."

"An admirable answer to Mr Sibthorpe."

"This is a very remarkable production, both as to strength of argument and clearness of doctrinal statement." —*Evangelical Magazine*.

"The distinction between the true and the spurious church catholic is clearly and impressively stated." —*Patriot*.

London: J. UNWIN, 31, Bucklersbury; NISBET, Berners street, Oxford street; and all Booksellers.

INTERESTING TO THE WHOLE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY.

TO THE CLERGY, MINISTERS, AND MEMBERS OF ALL CHRISTIAN DENOMINATIONS.